



Biden sees gains as path becomes clearer

Trump litigation barrage begins with two defeats

BY AMY GARDNER,
JON SWAINE,
MICHELLE YE HEE LEE
AND EMMA BROWN

President Trump and his allies pressed their claims Thursday that election officials have allowed ballot fraud to infect the counting process in the battleground states poised to decide the presidency, but they offered no evidence of irregularities and met with two immediate defeats in court.

In Georgia, a local judge in Chatham County, home of Savannah, denied the Trump campaign's effort to disqualify about 50 ballots that a Republican poll watcher claimed may have arrived after the 7 p.m. deadline on Election Day. In court, the poll watcher offered no evidence that the ballots had arrived late, and county election officials testified that they had arrived on time.

And in Michigan, a Court of Claims judge said she would deny the campaign's request for an emergency halt to the counting of votes in the state. She noted that the request made little sense, given that the counting has essentially been finished in the state, with former vice president Joe Biden ahead by about 150,000 votes. He has been declared the winner of the state by national news organizations. Michigan Attorney General Dana Nessel's office described Trump's request as an "attempt to unring a bell."

Meanwhile, the Trump campaign announced its intent to file a lawsuit in another state where counting is continuing apace: Nevada. At a chaotic news conference in Las Vegas, campaign officials said that they plan to file a suit in federal court to stop the counting of what they called "improper votes."

SEE LITIGATION ON A29

Polls raise red flags for future contests

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

The election night party Joe Biden planned in Delaware was built for a blue tsunami, with front-row seats for VIPs and a giant flag hung between two cranes, as his campaign advisers ultimately could not resist planning as if the polls that suggested a quick and commanding defeat of President Trump might be right.

Instead, Democrats endured the second polling shock in four years, with election returns frequently coming in more favorable to Trump than in public surveys, in some cases outside the margin of error.

The underestimation of Trump's turnout and support in many places, after similar issues in 2016, has raised again questions about the reliance of campaigns, the press and the public on surveys to shape the race. That in turn has prompted new questioning of the bedrock principle among political strategists that campaigns can divine public opinion before the votes are counted with enough money and talent.

Adding to the prominence of polling issues is an emerging prognostication industry built on public surveys, with news organizations and universities investing heavily in polling, and aggregation websites promising election predictions that can offer a deceptive level of confidence.

Trump seized on the polling SEE POLLING ON A24

Overseas troops: Military ballots could take on a big role. **A4**

It's not me, it's you: It might be time to break up with pollsters. **C1**

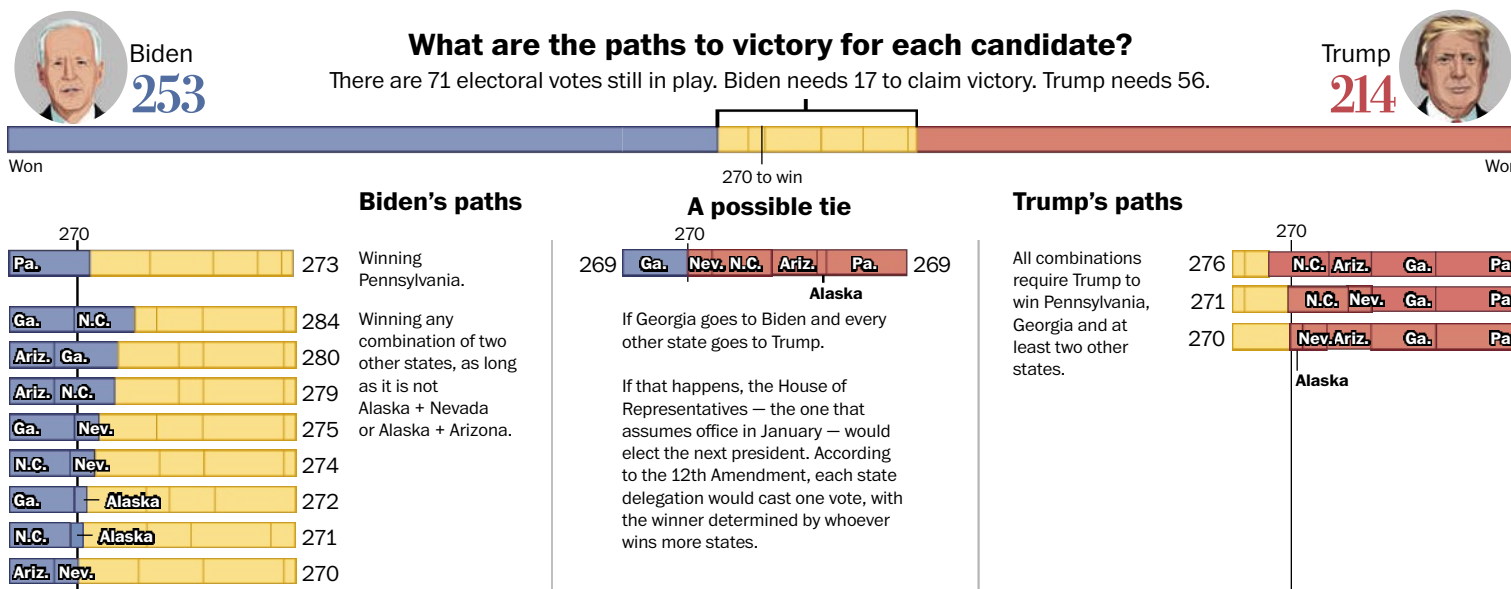


DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Former vice president Joe Biden said he is confident he will be declared the winner of the presidential election: "The count is being completed. And we'll know very soon." President Trump again railed against the vote-counting process, claiming without evidence that there was fraud in states where he was losing but not in those where he was winning.



As days stretch on, we're forced to practice our least favorite virtue: Patience

BY MARC FISHER

The rhetoric, on the streets and in the White House, has gone triple exclamation point, with shouts about stolen elections and all manner of imagined shenanigans. Tense gatherings of partisans outside — and even inside — vote-counting centers threaten to get physical. And in millions of homes across the country, a

gnawing impatience is eating away at what's left of American nerves.

Wait, says Joe Biden's camp — just count the votes. Wait, say President Trump's allies — let the courts decide. Wait, say elections officials: We're working as fast as we can.

But many Americans have had it with waiting. Waiting for the all-clear to go back to work and

school. Waiting for the vaccine. Waiting for a decision on the country's future. The message from people across the political and cultural divide is united, for once: It's too much.

Now, as Election Day — one of the country's grandest instant gratification traditions — stretches into a fourth day and who knows how many more, many people just want it to stop.

The impatience is contributing to some curious scenes. On Wednesday, Trump supporters in Michigan, where Biden was leading, chanted, "Stop the count!" while Trump supporters in Arizona, where the president was trailing, chanted, "Count the votes!" On Manhattan's Fifth Avenue, a man watching anti-Trump marchers as they shouted,

SEE PATIENCE ON A21

URGES CALM AS COUNTING ROLLS ON

Trump again baselessly alleges mass fraud

BY MATT VISER
AND TOLUSE OLURUN

Joe Biden insisted Thursday that he was on the verge of winning the presidency, urging calm and patience as the final votes were methodically counted. As he did, President Trump made frantic legal claims and promoted unfounded allegations about voter fraud in a number of states where he was losing or seeing his lead swiftly diminish.

Trump on Thursday evening unleashed a tirade from the White House briefing room that was filled with falsehoods about the American electoral system. He claimed that there was widespread fraud in states in which he was losing, but not in those he was winning. He provided no evidence for any of his statements.

"If you count the legal votes, I easily win," he said, in remarks that contained so much fabrication that several networks stopped airing them. "If you count the illegal votes, they can try to steal the election from us."

After spending months telling Republicans not to vote by mail, Trump said it was suspicious that so many mail-in ballots were for Biden. He suggested corrupt actions were somehow helping Biden cut into his lead in Pennsylvania, while touting that additional votes coming in from Arizona were bolstering his chances.

"We are on track to win Arizona," he claimed, despite trailing Biden there. He also impugned the integrity of those across the nation who are counting ballots.

Trump claimed Republicans did not lose a seat in Tuesday's House races (they did), that all of

SEE ELECTION ON A20

A desperate president lashes out

BY ASHLEY PARK
AND JOSH DAWSEY

By Thursday morning, President Trump was angry and defiant.

The polls had closed more than a full 24 hours before, and as several key states continued to update their ballot counts, the election increasingly felt like it was slipping away from him and toward Democratic nominee Joe Biden. He wanted to speak.

"STOP THE COUNT!" Trump bellowed on Twitter, a missive he quickly retweeted just over an hour later. "ANY VOTE THAT CAME IN AFTER ELECTION DAY WILL NOT BE COUNTED!" he added.

The only problem: If the vote-counting stopped at that moment, Trump would lose.

Trump's senior advisers intervened, explaining to him that he needed to be more precise about just which vote counts he wanted halted. He did not want all of the states to stop counting votes, they added, because that would lead to a Biden victory.

And so, shortly after noon Thursday, Trump blasted out the message he had workshopped with advisers: "STOP THE FRAUD!"

There is no evidence of widespread voting fraud, and Twitter flagged his tweet as "misleading" about the election. But for the president's purposes, the missive was more helpful to his electoral hopes. Trumpworld is going to go on.

SEE TRUMP ON A22

Social media: Trump allies using Facebook to plan protests. **A23**

USPS data: Over 150,000 ballots weren't delivered by Tuesday. **A28**



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

HAPPENING TODAY

For the latest updates all day, visit [washingtonpost.com](https://www.washingtonpost.com).

All day | Keeneland racecourse in Lexington, Ky., hosts the Breeders' Cup World Championships through Saturday. Follow the action at [postsports.com](https://www.postsports.com).

All day | The Supreme Court meets for a teleconference. Visit [washingtonpost.com/politics](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics) for details.

8:30 a.m. | The Labor Department issues the employment situation for October, with an expected 7.7 percent unemployment rate. For developments, visit [washingtonpost.com/business](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business).

The Washington Post

NEWSPAPER DELIVERY
For home delivery comments or concerns contact us at washingtonpost.com/subscriberservices or send us an email at homedelivery@washpost.com or call 202-334-6100 or 800-477-4679

TO SUBSCRIBE
800-753-POST (7678)

TO ADVERTISE
washingtonpost.com/mediakit
Classified: 202-334-6200
Display: 202-334-7642

MAIN PHONE NUMBER
202-334-6000

TO REACH THE NEWSROOM
Metro: 202-334-7300; metro@washpost.com
National: 202-334-7410; national@washpost.com
Business: 202-334-7320; business@washpost.com
Sports: 202-334-7350; sports@washpost.com
Reader Advocate: 202-334-7582; readers@washpost.com

TO REACH THE OPINION PAGES
Letters to the editor: letters@washpost.com or call 202-334-6215
Opinion: oped@washpost.com
Published daily (ISSN 0190-8286).
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Washington Post, 1301 K St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20071.
Periodicals postage paid in Washington, D.C., and additional mailing office.

Upcoming Washington Post Live events

All programs will be streamed live at [washingtonpostlive.com](https://www.washingtonpostlive.com), **on Facebook Live, YouTube, and Twitter.** Email postlive@washpost.com to submit questions for our upcoming speakers.

Post Live Election Daily | Daily at 1 p.m.

Friday, Nov. 6

Andrew Yang, former presidential candidate

Presenting sponsor: Bank of America

CORRECTIONS

The Washington Post is committed to correcting errors that appear in the newspaper. Those interested in contacting the paper for that purpose can:
Email: corrections@washpost.com.
Call: 202-334-6000, and ask to be connected to the desk involved — National, Foreign, Metro, Style, Sports, Business or any of the weekly sections. Comments can be directed to The Post's reader advocate, who can be reached at 202-334-7582 or readers@washpost.com.



Download The Washington Post app
Stay informed with award-winning national and international news, PLUS complete local news coverage of the D.C. metro area. Create customized news alerts, save articles for offline reading in My Post, browse the daily print edition and scroll through our the Discover tab to find stories that interest you. Free to download on the App Store and Play Store, subscribers enjoy unlimited access.

Judge rules Minn. officers will be tried together

BY HOLLY BAILEY

MINNEAPOLIS — The former police officers charged with killing George Floyd will be tried together in March in a downtown Minneapolis courthouse, though the judge overseeing the criminal case said he would reconsider a change of venue motion if security or other issues arise.

In a series of rulings filed Wednesday but made public Thursday, Hennepin County District Judge Peter A. Cahill denied defense motions for separate trials in which the former officers' attorneys claimed their clients will be presenting "antagonistic defenses" that could jeopardize their right to a fair trial. Such defenses could include individual officers arguing that they are not responsible for Floyd's death but alleging that other officers should take responsibility for the slaying.

Cahill denied those motions, arguing in a 51-page ruling that evidence against the former Minneapolis officers — Derek Chauvin, J. Alexander Kueng, Thomas Lane and Tou Thao — "will substantially overlap" and that separate trials would be complex and place an "undue burden" on state prosecutors and the court system.

Cahill denied those motions, arguing in a 51-page ruling that evidence against the former Minneapolis officers — Derek Chauvin, J. Alexander Kueng, Thomas Lane and Tou Thao — "will substantially overlap" and that separate trials would be complex and place an "undue burden" on state prosecutors and the court system.

Citing security threats, the judge also ruled that jurors in the case will be publicly anonymous — their names, addresses and other identifying information known only to the court and involved attorneys until after the trial. He also ruled that jurors will be partially sequestered; they will be allowed to sleep in their own homes, but the Hennepin County Sheriff's Office will transport them to the courthouse from a remote meeting point each day to maintain their privacy.

Cahill also decided that there can be audio and video coverage of the trial — against prosecutors' wishes — because of the anticipated need to maintain social distancing during the ongoing coronavirus pandemic.

In a separate ruling, the judge also declined to move the trial out of Hennepin County, rejecting defense concerns about the ability to seat an impartial jury given the intense media coverage of the case and the possibility of protests that could threaten the safety of participants, including jurors. Cahill wrote that a "fair and safe trial" can be held in Minneapolis and pointed out that "no corner of the state of Minnesota has been shielded from pretrial publicity regarding the death of George Floyd."



JOSHUA LOTT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The American flag is displayed outside of the Minneapolis police's 3rd Precinct, where protests took place in the wake of the killing of George Floyd. The officers' trial is set to be held in Minneapolis.

Minnesota Attorney General Keith Ellison, whose office is overseeing the prosecution, said he was "satisfied" by the court's decisions and thinks the case should go forward as planned.

"The murder of George Floyd occurred in Minneapolis, and it is right that the defendants should be tried in Minneapolis," Ellison said. "It is also true that they acted in concert with each other and the evidence against them is similar, so it is right to try them in one trial."

Floyd died May 25 while handcuffed and restrained facedown on a South Minneapolis street as police investigated a 911 call about a counterfeit \$20 bill that had been passed at Cup Foods, a local convenience store. During a struggle with police, Floyd was placed on the ground, where Chauvin pressed his knee into the man's neck for approximately nine minutes as Floyd repeatedly complained of struggling to breathe. Floyd ultimately lost consciousness and lost a pulse while subdued.

The former officers have offered various defenses. Through their attorneys, Kueng and Lane, who were rookies who had been on the job full time for less than a week, have sought to shift blame to Chauvin, a 19-year veteran of the Minneapolis Police Department who was the senior officer at the scene. Chauvin has blamed Kueng and Lane, suggesting they were in control of the scene and did not do enough to de-escalate the situation with Floyd. Thao, who was handling crowd control,

has said his job was to be a "human traffic cone" and that he was not paying close attention to the scene behind him as he kept onlookers at bay.

During a pretrial hearing in September, defense attorneys for all four former officers pressed the judge for separate trials, arguing that their defenses, including who was in charge of the scene, would be "antagonistic" and risk their clients' rights to a fair trial.

"I am not just dealing with prosecutors," Robert Paule, an attorney for Thao, told the judge. "I am dealing with three other attorneys who are defending their clients."

But in his ruling, Cahill rejected that argument, saying the former officers had only hinted that they will be pursuing antagonistic defenses but have not formally informed the court that that is what they intend to do. The judge said that under Minnesota law, he could not "assume defenses will be antagonistic unless and until antagonistic defenses have actually been asserted."

Cahill said the officers thus far have signaled that they will pursue similar defenses. He pointed to recent filings by Chauvin, Lane and Thao, in which their attorneys said they would seek to defend their conduct as authorized use of force permitted under state law. All of the officers also have indicated they will argue Floyd's death was not caused by their behavior but by preexisting health conditions and drug use.

An attorney for Kueng, one of

the rookies, told the judge in September that his client's defense would put him at odds with Chauvin's because he planned to include evidence of the training his client had received from Chauvin, who had been his field training officer. But the judge noted that Kueng had not yet filed a formal notice of his planned defense.

Cahill also rejected claims from the defense that a joint trial would result in "classic finger-pointing" between the former officers. He noted that prosecutors, in their charges, are not seeking to prove that any of the defendants "restrained Floyd with the intent to kill him" but are instead seeking to prove Chauvin's actions caused Floyd's death and that the other three officers knew Chauvin was committing a crime.

All the officers, Cahill wrote, "thus have an interest in mounting common defenses, rather than adversarial defenses seeking to blame each other."

Floyd's death sparked a nationwide movement for social and racial justice, with protests emerging in cities from coast to coast, along with a renewed and widespread push for police overhauling. Some of the protests have pitted social justice activists against those backing law enforcement officers.

Chauvin is facing second-degree unintentional murder and manslaughter charges; Kueng, Lane and Thao are charged with aiding and abetting.

holly.bailey@washpost.com

NEW YORK

Wall case defendant wants trial moved

A businessman charged with cheating investors in a southern border wall fundraising scam along with a former chief strategist for President Trump asked a New York judge Thursday to move his trial to Colorado.

Timothy Shea, through an attorney, filed legal arguments with the Manhattan judge, citing the coronavirus and the fact that Shea was only in New York City once as a child to see a New York Yankees game among reasons his trial should be moved.

U.S. District Judge Analisa Torres late Thursday directed prosecutors to state their position on the request at a status

conference in the case on Monday.

An indictment alleges that Shea let co-defendants, including former Trump chief strategist Steve K. Bannon, move money through a shell company he controlled to hide how donations were spent. Bannon and two other defendants allegedly promised donors no money would be diverted.

Shea and Bannon are free on bail after pleading not guilty after their arrests this summer on charges that they unlawfully raised over \$25 million for the "We Build the Wall" campaign. A trial is scheduled for May.

Shea's lawyer, John Meringolo, wrote that the case has few ties to New York City, while Shea allegedly carried out his crimes while living in Castle Rock, Colo.,

where he has lived most of his life and where he owns a fledgling energy drink company called Winning Energy.

— Associated Press

KANSAS

Court orders woman freed in kidnap case

A federal appeals court ordered the immediate release of a Russian mother whose case garnered international attention after she was convicted of kidnapping for moving her children from the United States to Russia amid a divorce.

Bogdana Alexandrovna Osipova, who is referred to by her married name of Mobley in court documents, was convicted in Kansas last year of one count of

international parental kidnapping and two counts of attempting to extort money.

A three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit overturned the two extortion convictions in August but upheld the conviction for parental kidnapping, sending the case back to U.S. District Judge Eric Melgren for resentencing.

Federal prosecutors did not fight the panel's decision, telling Melgren in a filing that further review was not authorized by the Solicitor General's Office.

Osipova, who has been imprisoned since her 2017 arrest, sought her release because she had already served the maximum three-year prison sentence allowed on the remaining count. She filed an emergency appeal after Melgren did not immediately free her.

The federal appeals panel told Melgren on Wednesday to order her release and schedule a date for resentencing via videoconferencing.

— Associated Press



LAURA SEITZ/DESERET NEWS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Construction workers assess the damage to a coronavirus testing site at Rice-Eccles Stadium at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, after a man in a pickup truck who police believe experienced a "medical issue" crashed into the site, injuring nine people. Authorities said four people, including the driver of the truck, were taken to hospitals with injuries, the Deseret News reported.



Exclusive savings!

Member Benefits

AARP

The Benefits of Hearing Health Are Endless.

 Call HearUSA today to schedule your **FREE** hearing screening.
703-643-9261

20% off hearing aids!
Exclusively for members of the AARP® Hearing Care Program provided by HearUSA

 **Hearing Care Program**
provided by 

HearUSA pays a royalty fee to AARP for use of the AARP intellectual property. Amounts paid are used for general purposes of AARP and its members. Neither AARP nor its affiliate is the provider. HearUSA makes available a network of hearing care providers through which AARP members may access AARP Hearing Program Discounts. This is not insurance and may be discontinued at any time. AARP does not recommend health related products, services, insurance or programs. You are strongly encouraged to evaluate your needs.

WE BUY ALL BOOKS

Brought to our stores 10-6 every day • No appointment needed
Also Blu-Rays, DVDs, CDs, LPs and more • CASH PAID
House calls **possible** for large collections of 1000+ items

WONDER BOOK
Frederick GAITHERSBURG Hagerstown
WonderBook.com/sell-us-books 301-977-9166

assuming a stolen identity, authorities said.

Douglas Bennett, 76, was arrested Wednesday at his Clearwater home and charged with passport fraud and aggravated identity theft. He faces up to 12 years in federal prison, which would be served before any state sentence. A warrant for his arrest was still active from Connecticut.

According to a criminal complaint, Bennett submitted a passport application in July 2016 using the name, date of birth and Social Security number of a person who was born in 1940 and died in 1945. Emergency contact information in the application led investigators to suspect Bennett's true identity, which they confirmed with fingerprints after his arrest, the complaint said.

Bennett was convicted in 1975 by a Connecticut jury of robbery, kidnapping, sexual contact, rape and deviate sexual intercourse. He was sentenced to nine to 18 years in prison but remained free on bail while he appealed. After losing his appeal, Bennett never turned himself in, records show. Bennett assumed the fraudulent identity in 1977 and remained a fugitive for more than 40 years, the complaint said.

The rape occurred in February 1974 in Wethersfield, Conn., according to a 1976 appeal ruling, which also said Bennett lived in Granby, Mass., and had worked for the victim's father. The appeal ruling said the victim's father allegedly had owed Bennett money.

— Associated Press

POLITICS & THE NATION

Coronavirus cases shatter records, straining health care

BY LENNY BERNSTEIN,
JOEL ACHENBACH,
ALEXANDRA HINOJOSA
AND CAROLYN Y. JOHNSON

A rapidly rising flood of coronavirus infections engulfed much of the United States on Thursday, setting records for new cases in 20 states, killing 1,158 people and straining the health system's capacity to keep up with the pandemic.

On Thursday, 116,707 new cases were reported, the second straight record for a single day and a figure that dwarfed the total for any day in the previous worst two periods of the outbreak, in April and July. From Washington state to West Virginia and from Texas to Pennsylvania, the country was awash in record or near-record case counts Thursday.

Illinois reported 9,935 new cases, Iowa registered 4,562 and Oklahoma recorded 2,094 — all single-day highs — as the virus continued to spread across the nation's midsection and the Plains states.

"In many areas of the country, this pandemic is a runaway train," said James Lawler, an infectious-diseases specialist at the University of Nebraska Medical Center. "We are doubling covid hospitalizations every two to three weeks in many parts of the Midwest. Think about what that means in a month to six weeks. So, we better find the brakes soon."

In a nation deeply fractured over whether to reopen the economy or confront the pandemic with tough restrictions, the virus has flourished, experts said, taking advantage of cooler winter months, lower humidity and communities where mitigation measures are less strict or are not being followed.

"The division is itself the big hurdle," said Tom Frieden, director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention during the Obama administration. "If we look around the world, the places that have struggled most in controlling the virus are those with the least social cohesion. Fighting the virus requires the notion that we're all in this together."

Case counts tend to be higher midweek, a result of the reporting patterns from hospitals and health departments. As of Thursday, the virus had killed more than 234,000 people and infected more than 9.5 million, according to data analyzed by The Washington Post. On Wednesday, the United States recorded more than 100,000 new cases in a single day for the first time since the pandemic reached the country in January.

That number was quickly surpassed Thursday.

In El Paso, University Medical Center has set record highs the past three days for inpatients with covid-19, the disease caused by the virus, said Ryan Mielke,



A coronavirus testing site Saturday in El Paso. University Medical Center in El Paso has set record highs three straight days for inpatients with covid-19, an official said. Some patients with other illnesses have been moved to El Paso Children's Hospital to free up beds.

director of public affairs.

"At the end of October, we were right around 30 inpatients," Mielke said. "Yesterday, we had 225. In October, we had one floor dedicated to covid-19 patients. Now, we have multiple floors, wholly dedicated to covid-19 patients."

The hospital, the city's largest, has moved some patients with other illnesses to El Paso Children's Hospital to free up beds for covid-19 patients. The city's convention center has been outfitted to accept patients. The state of Texas has deployed more than 130 nurses, doctors, respiratory therapists and other workers to University Medical Center to help in the crisis, Mielke said.

David Wyatt, an intensive-care nurse at University Medical Center who had just finished a 14-hour shift Wednesday, said his hospital is feeling the strain.

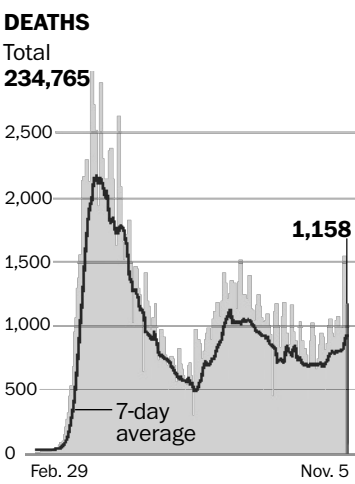
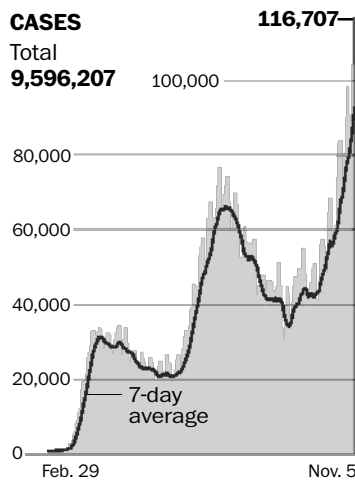
"The hospitals are just getting overrun," he said.

Lawler's medical facility in Omaha is "setting records every day," he said. "We are seeing more and more cases, and our hospitals are filling up rapidly. Welcome to the concept of exponential growth."

Nationally, the mortality rate from covid-19 has declined, in part because doctors have learned to use medications such

New coronavirus cases and deaths in the U.S., by day

As of 8 p.m. Thursday



as the steroid dexamethasone and techniques such as proning — laying patients on their stomachs to ease their ability to breathe. But increases in deaths lag behind rises in the case count by several weeks. Authorities expect that to occur again in November and December, and mortality rates could rise if hospitals are overwhelmed.

"If your ventilators are being run by a dermatologist, your outcomes are not going to be good," Lawler said.

Janis M. Orlowski, chief

health-care officer for the Association of American Medical Colleges, said "in those areas where there's an explosion, like Utah, like Nebraska, like in the Dakotas, like Colorado, we are seeing what we saw in the South at the end of the spring and the beginning of the summer. . . . The hospitals are overrun. There are no ICU beds."

Health-care workers are taking off work because they are sick, burned out or have child-care problems, she said.

"Are we smarter from under-

standing the disease from six months ago? Yes," she said. "Do we have our hands around having adequate supplies? No."

Michael Fraser, chief executive of the Association of State and Territorial Health Officials, which represents state health departments, said the election has also played a role in the public health response.

"There's been this sense of people giving up," he said. "You had state leaders looking at the election and deciding it was not worth taking bold, unpopular moves against the virus that might save lives but hurt your side politically. There's been state health officials debating whether to continue telling people to do things, because they know many are not going to listen."

With the election over, "we as health officials have got to get back to the work," he added. "This thing has been allowed to run its course unchecked."

One bright spot is the effort to develop vaccines and therapeutics, which continues to plow ahead at a record pace, though neither will be widely available soon enough to blunt the surge of cases this winter.

Two companies, Eli Lilly & Co. and Regeneron Pharmaceuticals, have developed laboratory-brewed antibody drugs that

show promise in protecting recently infected people from developing severe disease. President Trump received one of the drugs under a compassionate-use provision to treat his case of covid-19 and declared it a "cure" that he would make freely available.

Both companies have applied for emergency authorization from regulators to provide those drugs, but even if the companies receive clearance imminently, the supply will be limited.

The drugmakers collectively project they will have 1.3 million doses manufactured by early next year. The U.S. government has secured 600,000 of those. Those factors will make it essential to limit use of the drugs to people at highest risk for severe disease.

But they have so far had disappointing results in trials of the sickest hospitalized patients.

The race for a vaccine is breaking every scientific speed record, but a vaccine will not be ready to quell the current outbreak even under the most optimistic timeline.

Two leading companies, Pfizer and Moderna, have projected they could have enough data to apply for regulatory clearance for their vaccine candidates as early as late November.

If a vaccine is shown to be effective, scaled-up production should mean that the highest-risk people, such as health-care workers, could receive injections right away, instead of waiting months or years for factories to come online.

Leaders of Operation Warp Speed, the federal effort to hasten vaccine and therapeutic development, have projected having 600 million to 700 million doses of vaccine by March or April. But that does not mean all those doses will be proved safe and effective, and turning vaccines into vaccinations for the entire population is a gargantuan project that could take months.

In the meantime, public health authorities continue to urge simple mitigation measures that have proved effective throughout the pandemic: wearing masks; maintaining distance from other people; avoiding large gatherings, especially indoors; and washing hands frequently.

"People think there's some magical ceiling we're going to hit. There is no ceiling," Lawler said. "Not until we hit herd immunity. And that's not going to be a pretty picture."

"It's possible to control it. People have to listen to actual public health authorities and not their friend on Facebook."

leonard.bernstein@washpost.com
joel.achenbach@washpost.com
carolyn.johnson@washpost.com

Hinojosa reported from El Paso. Jacqueline Dupree and William Wan in Washington contributed to this report.

We provide the HIGHEST LEVEL OF EXPERTISE in FOUNDATION REPAIR- GUARANTEED

JES FOUNDATION REPAIR understands that foundation cracks are stressful and damage your home.

Providing expert solutions with nationally-backed transferable warranties, we can keep your home safe and healthy.

SPECIAL OFFER*

SAVE UP TO \$500

NO INTEREST NO PAYMENT UNTIL DECEMBER 2021

* Financing offer subject to credit approval. Interest accrues during the promotional period. All interest is waived if purchase amount is paid before expiration of promotional period. 17.99% interest rate if not paid off within 12 months. Discount offer: ten percent off any job over \$2500 up to a max of \$500. Coupon must be presented at time of inspection. Discount and finance offers may not be combined. Offer may not be combined with any other offer. Limit one per customer. Ask inspector for further details. Promo valid through 11/30/2020.

Call Today for a FREE Inspection

202-794-7757 | 301-494-1405 | 703-437-9576

DESIGN YOUR DREAM SHOWER.

Bring The Spa Experience Home.

Looking for a stay-at-home project? Transform your shower with KOHLER® LuxStone®. Choose from a curated selection of faucets and accessories from the brand America has trusted for 146 years.

KohlerShowers.com

LIMITED TIME OFFER

\$1,000 OFF

YOUR KOHLER, LUXSTONE, SHOWER*

Call Today for Your FREE Consultation.

VIRTUAL CONSULTATIONS AVAILABLE IN SELECT MARKETS

(202) 816-8810 (301) 264-8457 (703) 586-9044

*Financing available to qualified purchasers. Contact your local dealer for financing details. Limited time offer. Valid through 12/1/2020, at participating dealers only. Not available in AK, HI, or Nassau County, NY; Suffolk County, NY; Westchester County, NY; and Buffalo County, NY. Also, may not be available in other areas. \$1,000 off average price of a KOHLER, LuxStone, shower system (as defined by walls, base or tub, accessories, and faucet). Dealer sets all prices and dealer is responsible for full amount of discount. Cannot be combined with any other advertised offer.

Military ballots could take on outsized role in key states

More than 630,000 such votes were cast four years ago

BY MISSY RYAN AND ALEX HORTON

Votes cast by military personnel could assume greater importance as the race between President Trump and former vice president Joe Biden narrowed to a handful of battleground states that accept service members' ballots after Election Day.

Authorities in Georgia, North Carolina, Nevada, Arizona, Pennsylvania and Alaska on Thursday continued to count ballots and wait for others yet to arrive, including those cast by uniformed troops and their families stationed away from their homes.

"We anticipate military ballots could play a decisive role in this election given that these ballots are some of the latest to arrive and be counted," said Jack Noland, a researcher at the nonpartisan group Count Every Hero, an initiative of anti-corruption advocacy group RepresentUs.

Scrutiny of ballots that were not counted or received until after Election Day has intensified as Trump's campaign mounted legal challenges in at least three states and the president has attempted to stoke doubts about the validity of continuing vote tallies.

"STOP THE COUNT!" Trump tweeted Thursday morning. In another tweet that was flagged by Twitter as potentially misleading, he also said: "ANY VOTE THAT CAME IN AFTER ELECTION DAY WILL NOT BE COUNTED!"

While Trump has also made unsubstantiated allegations in recent days of fraud and raised questions about a "mail-in ballot dump," his campaign has said there "are and should be exceptions" for troops stationed overseas.

U.S. troops have been voting by mail since the War of 1812 and, in larger numbers, the Civil War. In



Army Pfc. Jerome Clunis reads over an absentee ballot this summer at Camp Arifjan, Kuwait. This year, military authorities urged troops to vote early because of postal delays related to the coronavirus pandemic.

2016, troops and their families sent more than 630,000 ballots. About 20,000 of those were rejected, mostly because they arrived too late. This year, military authorities urged troops to vote early because of postal delays related to the coronavirus pandemic.

How military mail-in ballots are treated varies by state. According to research compiled by Count Every Hero, 28 states and

How military mail-in ballots are treated varies by state. Some states allow troops to vote by email or fax.

postmarked by Election Day and received by Nov. 6. In Nevada, they must be postmarked by Election Day and received by Nov. 10. Pennsylvania requires them to be signed by Nov. 2 and received by Nov. 10. North Carolina requires them to be sent by 12:01 a.m. on Election Day and received by Nov. 12. Finally, Alaska allows military ballots that are postmarked by Election Day. For those coming from within the

United States, the deadline is Nov. 13; for those coming from overseas that are received by Nov. 18.

In a call Thursday organized by Count Every Hero, retired Gen. George Casey, who served as Army chief of staff during the George W. Bush and Obama administrations, asked state officials to include assurances when they certify state votes that all service member ballots have been counted. "We ask so much of them, they deserve to know that their voices are heard," he said.

It was unclear Thursday how many more military ballots could arrive in battleground states, or how they could be affected by legal challenges.

Some critical states have seen larger numbers of military absentee voters this year compared with the number in 2016. In North Carolina, 14,550 service members requested absentee ballots, with 9,750 returned as of Wednesday, said Caroline Myrick, a data analyst with the state board of elections. The number of ballot requests was thousands more than for the last presidential election, she said.

Some of the thousands of remaining ballots will be tabulated as they come in, but Myrick said the number doesn't account for service members who requested mail-in ballots but later decided to vote in person on Election Day.

The military does not conduct electoral polling, and it is unknown how active-duty troops will vote this year. Traditionally, military personnel have tended to skew Republican politically.

Veterans for Trump, an online coalition, has seized on the president's allegations of impropriety and asked members to mobilize to observe ballot counting. The group did not return a request for comment, but a recorded phone message said volunteers were needed "to ensure election integrity" in Wisconsin, Michigan, North Carolina and other states with close vote margins.

The Biden campaign did not return requests for comment.

missy.ryan@washpost.com
alex.horton@washpost.com

Republican who died of covid-19 in Oct. wins state race in North Dakota

BY TEO ARMUS

David Andahl died of covid-19 in early October, just as the coronavirus was pummeling his home state of North Dakota. But that did not keep the 55-year-old rancher from winning his race for the state House of Representatives on Tuesday.

With an apparent victory in North Dakota's 8th District, Andahl's election marks an unusual overlap between two of the most consequential events in the United States this year: a pandemic that has killed at least 232,000 people in the country and the unprecedented election season it upended in the process.

In-person political conventions over the summer were all

but scrapped. Get-out-the-vote efforts went remote, too, and many voters opted to submit mail-in ballots instead of waiting at the polls. Yet with results continuing to trickle in around the country, few of the virus's political consequences seem as tangible — or as shocking — as Andahl's posthumous win.

A cattle rancher and land developer, Andahl had spent 16 years serving on the zoning and planning commission in Burleigh County, including eight years as its chair, according to the Bismarck Tribune. This year, he won a heated GOP primary against longtime state Rep. Jeff Delzer, who chaired the chamber's powerful Appropriations Committee.

The district north of Bismarck has two House seats, and Andahl teamed up with another candidate, Dave Nehring, to earn endorsements.

During the campaign, he won the backing of two of the state's most influential Republicans, Gov. Doug Burgum and Sen. Kevin Cramer.

Cramer, a noted Trump ally, put his support behind the Bismarck rancher "because we need more Trump Republicans in the State Legislature," the Star Tribune reported.

When the coronavirus reached North Dakota, Andahl — who was already grappling with several health issues — was "very cautious," his family wrote on Facebook. They did not elaborate

on what medical challenges he was facing.

As the largely rural state saw a sharp increase in coronavirus cases this fall — at one point leading the country in the number of new cases per capita — Andahl contracted the potentially deadly virus. After four days in the hospital, he died Oct. 5.

"He has been a public servant for many years and was looking forward to the opportunity to serve in the state legislature," his family said on the candidate's Facebook page. "We are sad that his wish will not come to pass."

According to his obituary, Andahl, who also worked as a racecar driver and instructor, was so passionate about his home state that he was some-

times called "Dakota Dave."

North Dakota election authorities initially had no precedent on how to address the death of a candidate so close to Election Day, and the state's attorney general issued an opinion later in October on how to proceed: Should Andahl win, he said, the local Republican Party would be responsible for filling the vacant seat until a special election.

On Tuesday, he appeared to secure a comfortable victory in the race for two seats, securing 5,901 votes, or about 35.5 percent of the total, according to state election data. Only Nehring won more, with 6,763 votes.

Two opposing Democratic candidates, Kathrin Volochenko and Linda Babb, won less than

12 percent and 10 percent of the vote, respectively.

Posthumous victories such as Andahl's are rare in the United States, though not unprecedented. Since 2000, at least six dead candidates have won elections at nearly every level of government, from mayoral races in small-town Tennessee to a U.S. Senate seat.

Most recently, Dennis Hof, a brothel owner and reality TV star, won a seat in the Nevada state legislature in 2018. About three weeks before his victory, Hof, who had been backed by Roger Stone and Grover Norquist, was found dead at his Love Ranch brothel outside Las Vegas.

teo.armus@washpost.com

Instant Makeover for Your Home

Beautify & protect with High Quality Doors

ASCEND combines beauty, performance, durability and easy maintenance, with a grained look of real wood

Payments as low as \$99/Month

Call Today for Free Quote!

202-559-0336 | 301-264-7221 | 703-270-6074

Beat the Elements

Our siding products resist extreme climate conditions, including high temperatures, humidity, rain, hail, snow, and even hurricanes.

NO payments and 0% interest for 6 months

Payments as low as \$159 monthly, with approved credit based on 1000 square feet. Offer valid 30 days following date of written price quote given prior to 12/5/20

\$2500 off a whole house of siding

*Terms and Conditions Apply. See Ameritech for details. Minimum purchase of 1000 square feet.

CALL TODAY FOR FREE ESTIMATE

202-897-4155 DC
301-264-8942 MD
703-586-9050 VA

VA #2705029456A | MHIC #46744 | DC #67000878 | NC #77474

IMPORTANT INFORMATION REGARDING SECURITY INCIDENT

Luxottica of America, Inc. (“Luxottica”) is an owner of and/or service provider to eye care practices across the country. We recently learned that on August 5th an unauthorized person accessed the Luxottica-managed web application used for appointment scheduling. **Individuals who recently made appointments with eye care providers at the locations below may have been impacted.**

On August 9, 2020, Luxottica learned of the incident, contained it, and immediately began an investigation to determine the extent of the incident. On August 28, 2020, we preliminarily concluded that the attacker may have accessed and acquired patient information.

The personal information involved in this incident may have included: full name, contact information, appointment date and time, health insurance policy number, doctor or appointment notes that may indicate information related to eye care treatment, such as prescriptions, health conditions or procedures.

Luxottica is not aware of any misuse of personal information or harm to patients as a result of this incident. Nonetheless, we encourage potentially impacted individuals to remain vigilant. If you discover any suspicious activity on your accounts or if you suspect identity theft or fraud, report it immediately to your health plan or insurer.

We regret that this incident occurred and take our data protection responsibilities very seriously. We have taken measures to enhance our security controls and prevent this type of incident from recurring, including implementing additional access restrictions on our patient scheduling platform. We also notified federal law enforcement of this matter.

On October 27, 2020, Luxottica will begin mailing notice of the incident to impacted patients for whom the eye care practices below had current mailing addresses. Individuals seeking additional information can call toll free to (877) 540-1431 (within the U.S. and Canada) or visit [Luxottica.kroll.com](https://luxottica.kroll.com). Please know that we regret any inconvenience or concern this incident may cause.

IMPACTED VIRGINIA PRACTICE/DOCTOR NAMES AND ADDRESSES

Steer Optical LLC 1100 South Hayes, Arlington	Steer, Hugh 4238 Wilson Blvd, Arlington	Dr Louis A. Espejo II, PC Inc 7141 Arlington Rd, Bethesda
Solomon, Richard 7101 Democracy Blvd, Bethesda	Luxottica of America 15616 Emerald Way, Bowie	Dr Kasmani & Associates, LLC 45155 First Colony Way, California
Grasee Inc 45330 Abell House Lane Unit 1, California	Ly, Susan 14391 Chantilly Crossing Ln, Chantilly	Advanced Eyecare Consultants LLC 4310 Fortuna Center Plz, Dumfries
Fair Lakes Optometry, PLLC 13047 Fair Lakes Shopping Ctr., Fair Lakes	Elizabeth Ton, OD 11001-B Lee Hwy, Fairfax	Gedamu, Tewodros 11784 Lee Jackson Hwy, Fairfax
John Du, OD, PC 10301 New Guinea Rd, Fairfax	Chen, Ying-Ta 6100 Arlington Blvd, Falls Church	Tofik M Ali 6345 Columbia Pike, Falls Church
Glenn, Donna 5227 Buckeystown Pike, Frederick	Chen, Ying-Chou 13301 Gateway Center Dr., Gainesville	Pham, Peter 14046 Promenade Commons St Su, Gainesville
Donna M. Glenn PC 701 Russell Ave, Gaithersburg	Zhang, Xue-Guang 17213 Cole Rd, Hagerstown	KLA Vision PC 3500 East West Hwy, Hyattsville
KA Laurel Inc 14811 Baltimore Ave, Laurel	Gage, Marsha 1200 Edwards Ferry Rd, Leesburg	Pham, Peter 8300 Sudley Rd, #16, Manassas
Nguyen, Kim 9900 Sowder Village Square, Manassas West	Syeda Kutub PC 9900 Sowder Village Square, Manassas West	Son, Christopher 8093 Tyson’S Corner Center, L, Mclean
Dr Louis A Espejo II, PC 1060 Rockville Pike, Rockville	Sasser, Devin 12000 Cherry Hill Rd, Silver Spring	Grace Chang, OD, PC 6575 Frontier Dr, Ste O, Springfield
Kim-Hien Nguyen, OD, PC 6600 Springfield Mall, Springfield	Dr Donna A. Brane & Associates, Inc. 21100 Dulles Town Circle, Ste, Sterling	Luxottica of America 1110 Mall Circle, Ste 2001, Waldorf
Donna M Glenn PC 11160 Veirs Mill Rd, SPC#G1, Wheaton	KA Wheaton Inc 11193 Veirs Mill Rd, Wheaton	Lam, Kien 11160 Veirs Mill Rd, Wheaton
	Steer Optical LLC 2700 Potomac Mills Circle, SPC, Woodbridge	

THE WORLD

Australia prevails over virus by putting its faith in science

Leaders across political spectrum persuaded citizens to take pandemic seriously and imposed strictures based on medical advice

BY A. ODYSSEUS PATRICK

SYDNEY — The Sydney Opera House has reopened. Almost 40,000 spectators attended the city's rugby league grand final. Workers are being urged to return to their offices.

Australia has become a pandemic success story.

The nation of 26 million is close to eliminating community transmission of the coronavirus, having defeated a second wave just as infections surge again in Europe and the United States.

No new cases were reported on the island continent Thursday, and only seven since Saturday, besides travelers in hotel quarantine. Eighteen patients are hospitalized with covid-19, the disease caused by the coronavirus. One is in an intensive care unit. Melbourne, the main hotbed of Australia's outbreak that recently emerged from lockdown, has not reported a case since Oct. 30.

Meanwhile, in the United States, 52,049 people are hospitalized and 10,445 are in an ICU, according to the Covid Tracking Project, a volunteer effort to document the pandemic. America's daily new cases topped 100,000 on Wednesday, and its death toll exceeds 234,000, a staggering figure even accounting for its greater population than Australia, which has recorded 907 deaths.

"I never thought we would really get to zero, which is amazing," said Sharon Lewin, the Melbourne-based director of the Peter Doherty Institute for Infection and Immunity, which provided forecasts in February that formed the basis of the Australian government's response. "I've been going out nonstop, booking restaurants, shopping, getting my nails done and my hair cut."

As North America, Europe, India, Brazil and other regions and countries struggle to bring tens of thousands of daily infections under control, Australia provides a real-time road map for democracies to manage the pandemic. Its experience, along with New Zealand's, also shows that success in containing the virus isn't limited to East Asian states (Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan) or those with authoritarian leaders (China, Vietnam).

Several practical measures contributed to Australia's success, experts say. The country chose to quickly and tightly seal its borders, a step some others, notably in Europe, did not take. Health officials rapidly built up the manpower to track down and isolate outbreaks. And unlike the U.S. approach, all of Australia's states either shut their domestic borders or severely limited movement for interstate and, in some cases, interstate travelers.

Perhaps most important, though, leaders from across the ideological spectrum persuaded Australians to take the pandemic seriously early on and prepared them to give up civil liberties they had never lost before, even during two world wars.

"We told the public: 'This is serious; we want your cooperation,'" said Marylouise McLaws, a Sydney-based epidemiologist at the University of New South



DARRIAN TRAYNOR/GETTY IMAGES

People in Melbourne return to sidewalks and restaurants on Oct. 28 after a 111-day lockdown that was imposed to contain a summer outbreak in Victoria state.

Wales and a World Health Organization adviser.

A lack of partisan rancor increased the effectiveness of the message, McLaws said in an interview.

The conservative prime minister, Scott Morrison, formed a national cabinet with state leaders — known as premiers — from all parties to coordinate decisions. Political conflict was largely suspended, at least initially, and many Australians saw their politicians working together to avert a health crisis.

"Regardless of who you vote for, most Australians would agree their leaders have a real care for their constituents and a following of science," McLaws said. "I think that helped dramatically."

Heeding expert advice

Australians' willingness to conform — especially in Melbourne, where residents endured a lengthy state-ordered lockdown — reflects political attitudes that differ from those in parts of the United States. In a nation where compulsory voting produces conventionally center-left or center-right political leaders, governments tend to be regarded as the solution to society's problems rather than the cause.

Australia's national response was led by Health Minister Greg Hunt, a former McKinsey & Co. management consultant and a Yale University graduate. Hunt



JENNY EVANS/GETTY IMAGES

A win is celebrated at Sydney's Rosehill Gardens horse-racing track on Oct. 31. Australia reported no new coronavirus cases Thursday.

and Morrison worked with the state premiers, who hold responsibility for on-the-ground health policy, to develop a common approach to the pandemic.

The government closed Australia's borders to travelers from China on Feb. 1, the same day as the Trump administration in the United States. But unlike the Trump administration, which has criticized its primary infectious-disease adviser, Anthony S. Fauci, Hunt relied heavily on health experts from the start.

"In January and February, we were focused on containing the risk of a catastrophic outbreak," Hunt said in an interview. "We

had a clear strategic plan, which was the combination of containment and capacity-building."

"We closed the border and concentrated on testing, tracing and social distancing," he added. "We built up our capacity to fight the virus in primary and aged care and hospitals. We invested in ventilators, and vaccine and treatment research."

Hunt's department oversaw the purchase of huge amounts of protective equipment and clothing, including masks, which became mandatory on Aug. 2 in the state of Victoria, where Melbourne is located.

After a sick doctor in his 70s

treated more than 70 people in the city before being diagnosed, Hunt accelerated a 10-year plan to phase in video consultations with physicians. Within 10 days, almost anyone in Australia could see a doctor over the Internet under Australia's highly subsidized health-care system, including psychiatrists.

When private hospitals said they were in danger of going broke because non-urgent surgery had been canceled, the government stepped in with emergency funding, securing beds that could be used for coronavirus patients.

In private, Hunt swapped practical stories with his wife, Paula Hunt, a former infectious-diseases nurse who kept a 1995 bestseller by U.S. science journalist Laurie Garrett, "The Coming Plague: Newly Emerging Diseases in a World Out of Balance," on her bedside table, he said.

"It's valuable to have a very strong sounding board," he said.

Not without hiccups

The coordination was not always smooth, and lapses did occur. Federal officials were uncomfortable with Melbourne's extreme lockdown and felt the state border closures went too far. Hunt, Morrison and federal health advisers tried to criticize the rules without undermining overall confidence in the response.

While opinion polls show

strong support for the tough measures, many people have been badly affected. Australia entered its first recession in 29 years, small businesses have closed, and reports of depression are up. On Tuesday, an anti-lockdown protest in Melbourne turned violent. Police arrested 404 people.

And for a time, it appeared Australia's early success was imperiled, after lax security at hotels in Melbourne that were housing returned travelers led to a second outbreak in July. By August, more than 700 cases a day were diagnosed. It looked like Australia could lose control of the virus.

Almost all public life in Melbourne ended. After 111 days of lockdown, the number of average daily cases fell below five. On Oct. 28, state officials allowed residents to leave their homes for any reason.

Australia currently bans its citizens and residents from overseas travel, a decision that has been particularly tough on its 7.5 million immigrants.

On Oct. 16, Australia opened its border to New Zealand, which, despite limited outbreaks, never experienced a full second wave. The government is awaiting results of four vaccine trials in which it has invested.

Most Australians will have access to a vaccine by the middle of next year, Hunt said, a major step toward allowing them to travel.

foreign@washpost.com

DIGEST

FRANCE

Border controls to be boosted, Macron says

President Emmanuel Macron said Thursday that France is reinforcing its border controls in the wake of attacks that hit the country in recent weeks.

Macron said the number of police personnel and troops in charge of border controls will double from 2,400 to 4,800. They will focus on fighting illegal immigration and smuggling activities, he said during a visit to a frontier post in Le Perthus, on the border with Spain.

"We see very clearly that terrorist actions can actually be led by some people who use migratory flows to threaten our territory. So we must reinforce our controls for reasons of national security," Macron said.

Macron notably referred to the Islamist extremist attack on Notre Dame Basilica in the city of Nice that killed three people last week. The chief suspect, Ibrahim Issaoui, is a 21-year-old Tunisian who transited through Italy in September en route to France. Issaoui is in a French hospital after being wounded by police as

they arrested him.

In addition, Macron said he will push for changes to make controls at the European Union's external borders more efficient.

France raised its security alert to the maximum level after the Oct. 29 Nice attack.

It was the third attack since Charlie Hebdo republished the caricatures of the prophet of Islam in September as the trial opened in the 2015 militant attacks at the paper's offices and a kosher supermarket. The gunmen in that attack claimed allegiance to the Islamic State group and al-Qaeda, both of which recently called anew for strikes against France.

— *Associated Press*

VATICAN

Polish cleric accused of coverup faces probe

The Vatican has ordered an investigation into allegations that a now-retired archbishop in Poland was negligent in investigating reports of sexual abuse of minors by priests in his Gdansk archdiocese.

The Vatican Embassy in predominantly Roman Catholic Poland said the archbishop of

Warsaw had been assigned to conduct the probe and that the preliminary investigation into Slawoj Leszek Glodz has been completed.

The embassy provided no details about the outcome in a statement issued this week.

Pope Francis accepted Glodz's

resignation on his 75th birthday in August. Glodz, who had also served as the chief chaplain of Poland's armed forces, denies any negligence.

Abuse survivors included Glodz in a report identifying two dozen current and retired Polish bishops accused of protecting



ORLANDO SIERRA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

A man rescues his pigs after the overflowing of the Uluu River in the municipality of El Progreso, in Yoro, Honduras on Thursday because of the heavy rains caused by Hurricane Eta. Eta devastated coastal areas of northern Nicaragua before weakening to a tropical depression by Wednesday as it pushed north through Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica.

predator priests. The report was delivered to Francis on the eve of his 2019 global abuse prevention summit at the Vatican.

— *Associated Press*

Man receives life term in failed French church attack: A Paris court sentenced a 29-year-old Algerian man to life in prison for killing a woman and trying to bomb a church near the French capital in a failed 2015 attack that investigators said was plotted by Islamic State extremists in Syria. Sidi Ahmed Ghilam testified at his trial that, at the time, he had "embraced" Islamic State ideology. He expressed regret over choosing that path but denied killing the woman outside the church in the suburb of Villejuif. He was arrested after he shot himself in the leg and called an ambulance. His sponsors in Syria were thought to be linked to deadly attacks in France that year.

Moscow office of Navalny's organization searched: Russian bailiffs raided the offices of opposition leader Alexei Navalny's organization while he is recovering in Germany from a nearly fatal poisoning. Navalny's associates linked the move to a

court ruling that obliged his Anti-Corruption Foundation to pay damages to a school catering company reportedly linked to a tycoon with ties to Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Navalny, an anti-corruption investigator and Putin's most well-known opponent, fell ill Aug. 20 during a flight in Russia and was flown to Germany two days later. Tests confirmed that the poison used on Navalny was a Soviet-era Novichok nerve agent.

Bill seeks to expand Russian ex-presidents' immunity from prosecution: Former Russian presidents' immunity from criminal prosecution could be extended to any offenses committed in their lifetimes, not merely while in office, under a bill submitted to parliament. The bill is one of several being introduced in the wake of constitutional changes that, among other things, allow President Vladimir Putin to run again when his term ends in 2024. Former presidents already have lifetime immunity for any crimes committed in office. The new bill would also make it harder to revoke ex-presidents' expanded immunity.

— *From news services*

Kosovo president resigns to face charges

BY MICHAEL BIRNBAUM

Kosovo President Hashim Thaci resigned Thursday to face war crimes charges in The Hague, becoming a high-profile target of international efforts to bring justice to victims of the two-decade conflict that led to Kosovo's independence.

In a single extraordinary day, the most powerful man in Kosovo went from the president's office to a custody cell in The Hague, facing an indictment that accused him of being a member of a "joint criminal enterprise" that conducted "abductions, detentions, mistreatment, and killings" against opponents of the Kosovo Liberation Army, the guerrilla force that won Kosovo's sovereignty from Serbia with the help of a 78-day NATO air campaign in 1999.

A special prosecutor in The Hague announced preliminary indictments against Thaci in June, just days before he was to attend a White House meeting with Serbian President Aleksandar Vucic intended to achieve a breakthrough between their countries. President Trump has made normalizing relations between the two countries a foreign policy priority.

The allegations date to his time as a commander in the Kosovo Liberation Army in incidents between March 1998 and September 1999. As a senior leader in the guerrilla force, Thaci knew of killings, torture and other persecution of civilians believed to be opponents and did not act to stop the crimes, according to the indictment.

The court said Thursday that Thaci and other top Kosovo Liberation Army officials were responsible for a "widespread and systematic attack against persons suspected of being opposed to the KLA."

Thaci told reporters in Pristina, the Kosovo capital that he was stepping down "to protect the integrity of the presidency of Kosovo" before flying to the Netherlands. He has denied the charges. Vjosa Osmani, the head of Kosovo's



PHOTOS BY VISAR KRYEZIU/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ABOVE: Kosovo President Hashim Thaci announces his resignation in Pristina. **BELOW:** Thaci, who was a commander in the Kosovo Liberation Army, speaks at a news conference in Kosovo in March 1999. He is accused of knowing about, and not trying to stop, killings, torture and other persecution.

vo's parliament, has taken over as acting president pending the election of a new leader.

Thaci had been president since 2016. He has been a dominant figure in Kosovo's political life for decades, evolving from separatist militia leader into a politician once the territory achieved autonomy from Serbia. He was prime minister of Kosovo when it declared independence in 2008.

Other top Kosovo Liberation Army officials, many of them active in Kosovo political life, also face charges. Kadri Veseli, Thaci's successor as the leader of the Democratic Party of Kosovo, also resigned his position Thursday and voluntarily went into custody in The Hague.

"I see it as an opportunity to finally respond to these false suspicions and rumors which have been circulating for years," Veseli said in a statement.

On Wednesday, Jakup Krasniqi, another former Kosovo Liberation Army leader, was arrested in Pristina and transferred to The Hague. Krasniqi is a former speaker of parliament.

The special Chamber in The Hague is staffed with international judges and prosecutors but operates under Kosovo law.

The 1998-1999 war in Kosovo between Yugoslav forces and the Kosovo Liberation Army ended after a 78-day NATO air campaign.



It led, nine years later, to Kosovo's declaration of independence. Serbia never recognized Kosovo's statehood, and the unresolved borders have prevented full stability in the Balkans ever since. European officials have said the conflict must be resolved before Serbia can join the European Union.

The European Commission "welcomes" Thaci's decision to submit to the court proceedings, Peter Stano, a spokesman for E.U. foreign policy chief Josep Borrell, said in a statement. "Full cooperation with these institutions is essential as an important demonstration of Kosovo's commitment to the rule of law."

Thaci has been negotiating for years with Vucic, who was on the other side of the Kosovo war as a

minister in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to normalize relations between Pristina and Belgrade. But the two sides have not been able to agree on what to do about pockets of ethnic Serbs in Kosovo and Albanian-speaking communities within Serbia.

Trump deputized Richard Grenell, a former ambassador to Germany and acting national intelligence director, as an envoy to try to resolve the conflict.

Trump ultimately met in September with Vucic and Kosovo Prime Minister Avdullah Hoti in the White House, where the two sides announced an agreement to bolster their economic ties. But a full, final mutual recognition has remained out of reach.

michael.birnbaum@washpost.com

Denmark to kill all of its minks as mutated virus affects humans

Move to preserve vaccine effort imperils country's pelt industry

BY LOVEDAY MORRIS

BERLIN — Denmark, one of the largest fur producers in the world, plans to kill every mink in the country to contain a coronavirus mutation that had begun spreading back to humans.

Although the virus mutates constantly, this variation prompted particular concern, according to scientists at Denmark's Statens Serum Institut, because 12 of the people infected showed less ability to produce antibodies, which could reduce the potential effectiveness of a vaccine.

The Danish government announced it would expand plans for a more limited cull and instead put down all of the country's 15 million minks. Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen said Wednesday it was a "heavy decision" but the situation required "resolute action."

Health Minister Magnus Heunicke said genomic analysis suggested nearly 400 human coronavirus cases in northern Denmark were related to mink farms, about half of all cases. About 5 percent of all human infections in the region involve the new mutation, the Serum Institut estimated.

"As a government, we will do everything we can to ensure that the mutated infection is contained and does not spread further," Frederiksen said. "That's why — unfortunately — it's necessary to put down all minks in Denmark."

In a worst-case scenario, there could be a new pandemic that starts all over again from Denmark, warned Kare Molbak, director of the division of infectious-diseases preparedness at Statens Serum Institut. Independent scientists, however, urged caution, as the institute has not yet publicly released details of the sequencing of the mutation.

Denmark has more than 1,000 mink farms that produce about 40 percent of the world's mink pelts, the majority of which are exported to China and Hong Kong. Minks at 207 farms have tested positive for the coronavirus. Denmark plans to compensate mink farmers, but the government said it may be difficult for the industry to survive.

Even though the decision involves killing millions of animals, some welfare groups welcomed it as an opportunity to end to fur farms. Coronavirus infections have already accelerated plans in the Netherlands to phase out the mink industry, with hundreds of thousands of animals euthanized after outbreaks there.

When the Netherlands began to kill animals in June, it said mink farms risked becoming a "virus reservoir," presenting a risk to both human and animal health. A September study by Dutch experts found it "very likely" that minks had passed coronavirus infections back to employees in the first proven case of animal-to-human transmission.

Spain also euthanized nearly 100,000 minks in July, citing concerns that they might be able to spread the virus back to people. There have also been reports of minks contracting the virus at farms in the United States, where thousands of older animals have succumbed to it.

But no other country has reported a mink-related mutation that could endanger vaccine efforts. Concern about animals as vectors has been present since the earliest research into the novel coronavirus. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention does not consider animals to play a significant role in transmission, though minks have been identified as a possible exception.

Covid-19 is considered a "zoonotic" disease, meaning the virus that causes it would have originally come from an animal. The first reported human cases were linked to a live-animal market in China.

loveday.morris@washpost.com

You know
the feeling
when you actually
wake up early to
work out?

Rolling over your old 401k can bring you that same sense of satisfaction—without the alarm clock. Our team of rollover specialists will walk you through the process step by step, and even call your old provider. We do the heavy lifting so you can focus on feeling accomplished.

Visit tdameritrade.com/rollover to get started today.

 Where Smart Investors Get SmarterSM

A rollover is not your only alternative when dealing with old retirement plans. Please visit tdameritrade.com/rollover for more information on rollover alternatives. TD Ameritrade, Inc., member FINRA/SIPC. © 2020 TD Ameritrade.

China’s criticism is sharp as U.S. election drama unfolds

Observers in Europe, Africa and elsewhere also express dismay

BY GERRY SHIH
AND EMILY RAUHALA

TAIPEI, TAIWAN — “Hopeless America,” wrote a columnist at China’s official Xinhua News Agency.

“U.S. democracy now a joke,” the Beijing-backed Ta Kung Pao broadsheet pronounced.

“A bit like a developing country,” the Global Times sniffed as it contemplated the possibility of post-election violence erupting in the world’s most powerful democracy.

As the world waited restlessly for the results of the U.S. presidential election, Chinese commentators and state mouthpieces this week lined up to portray the cross-Pacific superpower — viewed with awe and envy by generations of Chinese — as a politically crumbling edifice.

After years of confrontation on trade, tech and human rights and months of finger-pointing over the pandemic, President Trump’s premature claim of victory and the prospect of legal battles had Beijing feeling a tad triumphant.

“Democracy has not made America great again, nor has it saved Americans from the pandemic,” said Wang Wen, an executive dean at Renmin University in Beijing who wrote an essay earlier this year titled “The End of the American Century.”

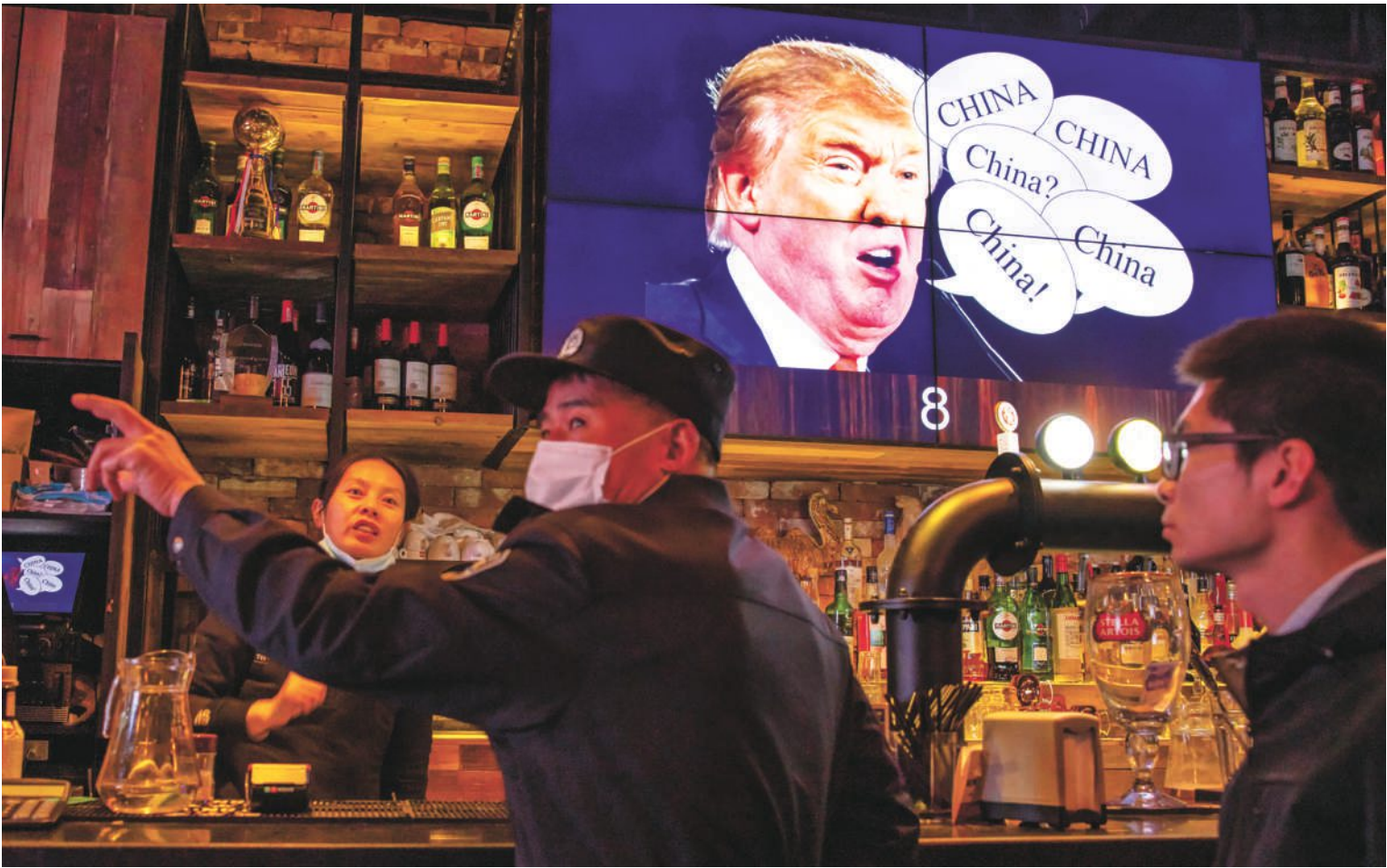
“This is no longer the United States we knew in the past.”

Chinese criticism, while pointed, mirrored broad concerns among both U.S. allies and rivals as the United States wrestled with unfounded allegations of electoral fraud, reports of rampant disinformation and fear that internal strife will endure well beyond Inauguration Day.

Germany’s left-leaning Der Spiegel newsweekly compared Trump to a “late Roman emperor” who has “set a historic standard for voter contempt.”

“Donald Trump repeatedly attacked America’s democratic process during the campaign, so the last two days are not entirely a surprise,” intoned an anchor for the BBC. “But reaction around the world shows us that the president still has the capacity to shock.”

After Trump tweeted Thursday that election workers ought to “STOP THE COUNT!” a former Italian prime minister, Enrico Letta, shot back, “IT’S CALLED DEMOCRACY!!”



A policeman in Shanghai looks in at a bar where people were taking part in a trivia quiz about U.S. presidents in late October. The United States, viewed with awe and envy by generations of Chinese, is being derided as a “joke” and “laughingstock” by Chinese commentators.

In a statement Thursday evening at the White House, Trump again claimed without proof that he had been cheated and leveled unsubstantiated allegations of widespread vote-rigging — remarks that threatened to further undermine the credibility of American democratic practices.

The Mirror, a left-leaning U.K. newspaper, described Trump as “rambling from the White House podium with lies, untruths and misleading claims,” while the Australian, a conservative-leaning newspaper, accused Trump of “making unsubstantiated claims of corruption against the Democrats.”

In China, state media and the commentariat followed the unprecedented scenes from the United States not with alarm over the future of democracy, but with deep schadenfreude.

Locked in an increasingly hostile showdown with the Trump administration, President Xi Jinping and the Communist Party have doubled down on selling the legitimacy of their rule.

In a piece in Xinhua’s China Comment magazine, Wang Pengquan, a state socialism researcher, chastised his compatriots for reflexively “kowtowing” to U.S. superiority and urged them to build a “modern socialist country.”

“America-worshippers exaggerate its political system’s ability to self-correct and tout its so-called freedom,” Wang wrote. “Facts speak louder than words. The vast majority of Chinese can see through the reality of U.S. political division, economic stagnation and social turmoil.”

“The U.S. election is not a model of democracy, but an ugly demonstration of democracy.”

China’s Ta Kung Pao newspaper

No matter the outcome of the election, there is little hope for the United States to regain the global leadership it inherited at the end of World War II, wrote Xinhua editor Wang Jinwei in another piece, describing a country racked by racial tension, economic inequality and unchecked coronavirus cases.

Criticism of liberal democracy is nothing new from Beijing. China has rapped neighboring Tai-

wan and South Korea, for instance, when brawls have broken out in their parliaments.

When the 2000 presidential election between George W. Bush and Al Gore descended into controversy before being settled by the Supreme Court, state media noted mildly that the U.S. electoral system “is in fact not perfect.”

The tone was harsher this time.

In Hong Kong, where Beijing has accused Washington of political interference, the Communist Party-controlled Ta Kung Pao newspaper seized on the election turmoil as an example of Washington’s “double standards.”

The U.S. government sided last year with Hong Kong pro-democracy protesters who demanded the right to choose the city’s leader rather than selecting from candidates screened by Beijing. Yet the U.S. president is also not selected simply by popular vote, the newspaper argued, while pointing out that the U.S. election could be mired in a legal challenge and that the White House is barricaded behind steel bars.

“What is infuriating is that Americans themselves reject so-called true universal suffrage but ask Hong Kong to promote it,” Ta Kung Pao opined. “The U.S. election is not a model of democracy, but an ugly demonstration of democracy. It’s a worldwide laughingstock.”

Freedom House, a nongovernmental, nonpartisan advocacy organization in Washington released a report this year that included the United States among countries where democratic institutions have weakened.

But Sarah Cook, a China researcher at Freedom House, said the Chinese criticisms of democracies were “ironic” and a “typical part of the playbook” from its state media. Cartoons and memes mocking Trump and U.S. politicians have been widespread in China, but “any user posting anything even remotely irreverent of Xi Jinping faces severe punishment, including possible imprisonment,” she said.

“Those kinds of actions speak louder than words in terms of the deep level of insecurity behind the CCP and state media’s boasting of their own system.”

U.S. leaders’ preaching about global human rights and democracy — when the country’s political system is so affected by moneyed influence and apparent electoral problems, and its foreign policy record marked by support for dictators and its own economic interests — has always carried more than a whiff of hypocrisy for many observers abroad. Still, U.S.

democracy, however imperfect, matters to much of the world.

In Japan, the United States’ closest ally in Asia and a country whose postwar constitution was largely written by Americans, the Mainichi newspaper said the events even called into question “the intrinsic value of democracy,” adding that “responsibility for fanning the divide and amplifying the confusion lies with Mr. Trump.”

J Omojuwa, a blogger in Nigeria’s capital, Abuja, has been live-tweeting the election’s aftermath to his 1 million followers — and growing increasingly concerned. “It is just sad that dictators elsewhere will be emboldened by Trump’s antics,” he said.

Mathias Hounkpe, a pro-democracy activist in Senegal who has helped monitor elections across West Africa over the years, said he had never seen anything like what Trump supporters were doing Wednesday night in Arizona. Some had arrived armed to a protest outside an election office in Maricopa County.

“We can’t believe that people are taking guns to where votes are being counted,” he said.

France offered at least one hopeful assessment on Thursday: “I have faith in U.S. institutions validating the results of the election,” French Foreign Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian told Europe 1 radio.

It is unclear how much of this made it into China’s tightly censored media ecosystem.

As U.S. vote totals climbed, many independent outlets on Chinese social media, which represent the most popular way for many Chinese to consume news, scrambled to provide readers detailed explanations on matters such as the electoral college, why absentee ballots could dramatically shift vote totals after polls closed, and the implications of Trump declaring an early victory.

Government censors, for the most part, stayed at arm’s length from discussions about U.S. politics as the topic racked up nearly 7 billion views on Weibo.

When the U.S. Embassy in Beijing sought to explain the electoral college on Weibo as part of the State Department’s public diplomacy, it was greeted with skepticism.

One Chinese user derided the state of democracy in the United States as “slipping to the level of Belarus or Venezuela.”

gerry.shih@washpost.com
emily.rauhala@washpost.com

Rauhala reported from Toronto. Simon Denyer in Tokyo, Rick Noack in Berlin and Danielle Paquette in Dakar, Senegal contributed to this report.

A gift for home delivery subscribers!

2021
The Washington Post
FEATURING WASHINGTON POST PHOTOGRAPHERS

Look for your 2021
Washington Post Calendar

featuring beautiful local scenes captured by
The Post’s award-winning photographers,
Sunday, November 8
inside your Sunday Post Marketplace insert package.

The Washington Post

The Washington Post delivers all year long.

Not a subscriber? Call 202-334-6100 or go to washingtonpost.com today!

S0856 -3x7

Something
better out
there?

Only one way
to find out.

WashingtonPostJobs.com

Have you looked today?

The Washington Post | Jobs

10711 3x6

VETERANS
DAY
SALE

LAUREL
Sofa

SAVE \$500

orig. \$1299 **\$799**

Matching Chair and a Half....

\$749 orig. \$1249 • SAVE \$500

Synthesis Table Group

rectangular cocktail table...\$379 rectangular end table...\$299

LA Z BOY®

LIMITED TIME ONLY!

TUESDAY, NOV 3RD - THURSDAY, NOV 12TH

▶ SAVE \$700



HAYES Reclining Sofa ^

orig. \$1599 **\$899**

▶ SAVE \$700



JAY Reclining Sofa ^

orig. \$1799 **\$1099**

30%
OFF EVERYTHING*

PLUS

0%
INTEREST UNTIL JANUARY 2023**
On purchases of \$5000 or more (after discount) made on your La-Z-Boy Furniture Galleries Credit Card between 11/3/20 and 11/12/20. Equal monthly payments required until January 2023. Details below.

YOUR CHOICE
RECLINERS >

\$399

ea.

VAIL
Rocking
Recliner
orig. \$799



▶ SAVE \$400

COLLAGE
Rocking
Recliner
orig. \$699



▶ SAVE \$300

CASEY
Rocking
Recliner
orig. \$699



▶ SAVE \$300

POWER AND/OR CUSHION UPGRADES AVAILABLE ON SELECT RECLINING STYLES

YOUR CHOICE
RECLINERS

\$499

BROOKS
Rocking
Recliner
orig. \$799



▶ SAVE \$300

COLEMAN
Rocking
Recliner
orig. \$799



▶ SAVE \$300

MORRISON
Rocking
Recliner
orig. \$899



▶ SAVE \$300

JASPER
Rocking
Recliner
orig. \$899



▶ SAVE \$300

★ EXTRA 5% OFF***
WITH MILITARY ID ★
THANK YOU FOR SERVING OUR COUNTRY

AMERICAN HERITAGE

Since 1927, we have designed high quality furniture in America. Look for the one and only, the original, La-Z-Boy. Learn more at La-Z-Boy.com



SOFAS, SECTIONALS, CHAIRS & A WHOLE LOT MORE.

LA Z BOY
FURNITURE GALLERIES®

Live Life Comfortably.®

Visit la-z-boy.com or call your local store for current store hours

- FAIRFAX, VA 10900 Lee Hwy.....703-273-6133

FREDERICKSBURG, VA 3104 Plank Road540-785-0747

GAINESVILLE, VA 7311 Atlas Walk Way.....571-261-5680
- ROCKVILLE, MD 5060 Nicholson Lane301-770-1658

STERLING, VA 21320 Signal Hill Plaza571-434-7687

WALDORF, MD 12100 Jefferson Farm Rd.....301-638-4417

***Discount excludes advertised items, select styles, clearance and cannot be combined with any other promotional offer, excluding financing. Offer valid November 3, 2020 through November 12, 2020. Prices do not include delivery fees. Wall recliners are \$150 additional when available. Photographs are representative of promotional items, actual selection may vary. Featured items may not be stocked as shown. Valid only at participating La-Z-Boy Furniture Galleries locations. La-Z-Boy is committed to accurate advertising, but errors in product descriptions, photographs, pricing or dates may occur. We are not bound by any such errors, and we reserve the right to correct them prior to any sale of merchandise.

**Offer applies only to single-recliner qualifying purchases. No interest will be charged on promo purchase and equal monthly payments are required equal to initial promo purchase amount divided equally by the number of months in promo period until promo is paid in full. The equal monthly payment will be rounded to the next highest whole dollar and may be higher than the minimum payment that would be required if the purchase was a non-promotional purchase. Regular account terms apply to non-promotional purchases. For new accounts: Purchase APR is 29.99%; Minimum Interest Charge is \$2. Existing cardholders should see their credit card agreement for their applicable terms. Subject to credit approval. Any discount, coupon, manufacturer rebate, or other promotional offer applied at time of purchase will reduce your total purchase amount and may result in you not satisfying the minimum qualifying purchase amount required.

***Offer valid for active duty members, Reservists, National Guard Members, Veterans and Retirees of the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps and Coast Guard. (Genuine leather used on seating, arm and footrest areas matched with high-quality synthetic material on other minimal-wear areas of the furniture.

Connect with us:



WASH20-1106

ELECTION 2020

McConnell’s Senate reign presents challenge to Democratic agenda

BY ERICA WERNER

Democrats’ dream agenda of pushing through a large new economic stimulus bill, strengthening the Affordable Care Act and paring back the 2017 tax cuts could face stiff resistance after Republicans greatly outperformed expectations in Tuesday’s election.

The GOP is on track to keep control of the Senate and gain rather than lose seats in the House — outcomes congressional Democratic leaders did not foresee. The winner of the presidential race remains uncertain, but even if Democratic nominee Joe Biden defeats President Trump, a GOP-led Senate would severely constrain Democrats’ ability to achieve significant legislative victories. The only path for Democrats to take control of the Senate at this point would be for Biden to win the presidential race and then have two Democratic candidates win runoff races in Georgia.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) was so confident that Democrats would get unified control of Washington that she began publicly discussing how the party would move forward to implement an ambitious agenda on multiple fronts, from health care to economic relief to infrastructure. She was eyeing a legislative maneuver called “budget reconciliation” to push extensive legislation through the Senate without GOP votes — the same mechanism that Republicans used to pass their partisan tax bill in the first year of Trump’s term, and that Democrats used to pass the Affordable Care Act under President Barack Obama.

Democrats could only use budget reconciliation if they controlled the Senate next year, which appears very unlikely at this point.

“We most certainly will be passing a reconciliation bill, not only for the Affordable Care Act, but for what we may want to do further on the pandemic and some other issues that relate to the well-being of the American people,” Pelosi said Monday. “Our agenda in ’18 and now still . . . we’re going to lower the cost of health care by lowering the cost of prescription



House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) will be presiding over a shrunken majority in the House next year, and with Republicans likely to maintain control of the Senate, Democrats’ ability to achieve significant legislative victories will be severely constrained.

drugs, preserving the preexisting conditions, et cetera.”

The potential for such far-reaching legislation all but vanished barely 24 hours later as Democrats saw their chances to reclaim the Senate slip away — and with it the ability to pass legislation on a party-line vote. Instead, House Democrats will be forced to make deals with a Senate that is still led by Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), who is likely to have little interest in legislation of the scope Democrats were envisioning. Pelosi will be presiding over a shrunken majority, giving her less room to maneuver.

If Biden wins the presidency and Republicans retain the Senate, Biden would become the first president since George H.W. Bush

to start his first term without a Congress fully controlled by his party. That means that a major, signature legislative achievement early in his administration could be out of reach unless there is significant compromise.

“We all felt that we had the possibility of being able to really change the direction of the country, and that’s not looking like a realistic possibility right now,” said House Budget Committee Chairman John Yarmuth (D-Ky.). “We had prepared a lot of memos on things like reconciliation that now we’re going to have to file away unless something crazy happens in the Senate.”

Not all Democrats, though, have conceded they will scale back their plans.

In a letter to her Democratic

colleagues, Pelosi on Wednesday wrote: “Our Democratic House Majority, working in partnership with the Democratic White House, will now have the opportunity to deliver extraordinary progress. Together, we will continue to deliver on our successful For The People agenda: lower health care costs, bigger paychecks by building green infrastructure and cleaner government.”

Still, some dearly held liberal goals that were already dividing Democrats could have a hard time gaining traction — policy proposals such as Medicare-for-all, a Green New Deal and an increased federal minimum wage. They will also run into fierce Senate GOP resistance to any effort to structurally change the Supreme Court or eliminate the legislative filibuster.

Senate Minority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) had openly toyed with the idea of getting rid of the filibuster should he control the Senate, with party leaders including Obama encouraging the move — a notion that infuriated Republicans.

“Clearly, nothing’s going to become law without the Senate Republicans,” said Sen. John Barraso (R-Wyo.), a member of the Senate Republican leadership. “The arrogance of Senator Schumer and the Democrats to put forth an agenda of a Democrat-run government that was so radical, extreme and dangerous, they should right now realize it is far too radical for America.”

It doesn’t mean nothing will happen. Budget deals will need to be made to keep the government

running, a debt-ceiling deadline will loom in the summer and many members in both parties — including McConnell — see the need for additional economic and health-care spending to address the coronavirus pandemic. McConnell said this week that he would like to see new stimulus legislation pass before the end of the year, in Congress’s post-election lame-duck session.

“If Republicans keep the Senate, you can forget the Biden agenda, but divided government doesn’t mean there won’t be action. We’ll just be back to governing by conflict,” said Brendan Buck, a GOP consultant who was a top aide to former House speaker Paul D. Ryan (R-Wis.). “There will always be pressure points and funding deadlines that force action and force compromise.”

But Democrats’ grand hopes for next year are running aground amid the realization that anything they can pass would probably have to be modest and compromised, not bold and groundbreaking.

“Finding common ground after this election is going to be even more difficult, not less,” said Rep. Gerald E. Connolly (D-Va.). “We’ve got our work cut out for us, no question.”

The Democrats’ lack of unified control of Washington calls into question Pelosi’s strategy in the economic stimulus negotiations she held for months with Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin. After a \$3 trillion burst of spending in the spring, the two parties did not succeed in striking another deal. Pelosi held out for more, broadcasting Democrats’ message that “Help Is on the Way. It Will Be Safer, Bigger, Better and Retroactive.”

That seemed to promise a large new coronavirus relief bill early next year, along the lines of the \$3.4 trillion Heroes Act the House passed in May, which Biden endorsed. But McConnell ruled out spending anywhere near that sum, and now there is no likelihood for anything so dramatic.

erica.werner@washpost.com

Seung Min Kim and Rachael Bade contributed to this report.

The Washington Post | LIVE

the path forward

SMALL BUSINESS

To view exclusive video highlights from this event, visit: wapo.st/pathforwardsmallbiz



Sen. Ben Cardin
(D-Md.)



Tiffany Dufu
Founder & CEO, The Cru



Ilir Sela
Founder & CEO, Slice

CONTENT FROM PRINCIPAL



Amy Friedrich
President, U.S. Insurance Solutions, Principal®

PRESENTING SPONSOR 

Principal Financial Group® helps millions of people and companies around the world achieve their financial goals through retirement, insurance and investment solutions so they can take care of what matters most.

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

DOW 28,390.18 UP 542.52, 1.9%	NASDAQ 11,890.93 UP 300.15, 2.6%	S&P 500 3,510.45 UP \$67.01, 1.9%	GOLD \$1,946.80 UP \$50.60, 2.7%	CRUDE OIL \$38.79 DOWN \$0.36, 0.9%	10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD 0.76% UP 0.22%	CURRENCIES \$1= 103.51 YEN, 0.85 EUROS
---	--	---	--	---	---	--

Stocks soar as investors foresee gridlock in Washington

A GOP-controlled Senate is expected to stop bold Biden plans if he wins

BY DAVID J. LYNCH
AND TAYLOR TELFORD

Stocks soared Thursday as investors applauded signs that power in Washington could be divided between a Democratic president and a Republican Senate determined to block his most ambitious proposals.

The Dow Jones industrial average rose 542 points, or 2 percent, to close at 28,390. The broader S&P 500 also rose about 2 percent, while the technology-rich Nasdaq jumped 2.6 percent and has gained 6.5 percent in the past two sessions.

All three markets are headed for their best weekly performances since April.

Officials in several undecided battleground states continued counting votes two days after the election. But former vice president Joe Biden was nearing the requisite 270 electoral votes needed to become the next president, and Republicans appeared poised to retain control of the Senate.

If that outcome is confirmed, Biden's plans to increase taxes on corporations and high-income individuals and enact sweeping regulatory changes and launch green-energy projects would be unlikely to survive. Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) would be able to block market-rattling Cabinet appointments, such as Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) as treasury secretary. Investors also could anticipate a less erratic policymaking process if President Trump is defeated.

Tuesday's elections may have disappointed partisans on both sides of the aisle, but money managers cheered the return of gridlock.

"It's probably the goldilocks scenario," said Michael Mussio, president of FBB Capital Partners in Bethesda, on money managers' apparently cheering the prospect of a return of legislative gridlock in Washington

Markets were quick to react to the unsettled election results, with the stocks of health insurers and drugmakers jumping on the assumption that McConnell would block aggressive policy moves. Shares of insurer United Health Group rose 10 percent



The New York Stock Exchange on Thursday. Wall Street favors divided government because neither side can pass far-reaching legislation.

"It's probably the goldilocks scenario."

Michael Mussio,
president of FBB Capital Partners in Bethesda, on money managers' apparently cheering the prospect of a return of legislative gridlock in Washington

Wednesday before hitting a 52-week high Thursday, while shares of energy companies such as First Solar sank amid fading hopes for Democrats' Green New Deal.

"That's the anti-AOC trade," said Mussio, referring to Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, (D-N.Y.), a champion of renewable energy.

In the campaign's final days, as pundits forecast a "Blue Wave" delivering unified Democratic control at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, investors counted on Biden to produce a multitrillion-dollar stimulus bill early next year. Divided government is likely to mean a less generous package, but some investors say it could be enough to revive the slowing recovery.

McConnell said Wednesday that he favored producing a new economic rescue package before the end of the year. The Trump administration and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.)

negotiated for months over a potential \$2 trillion deal without reaching agreement. Any legislation produced in the next several weeks could center on additional unemployment insurance benefits, small-business loans and checks for taxpayers.

"The headline number is likely to be much lower," said David Page, head of macro research for AXA Investment Managers in London. "But the kernel of what's likely to come through will feed into the economy in the short term."

Some market professionals urged caution as Trump escalated his scorched-earth legal strategy to challenge results in several key states, threatening weeks of uncertainty before an official outcome.

"It's a little bit odd we're this excited when we don't know what's happening," said Liz Young, the director of market strategy for BNY Mellon Invest-

ment Management in New York.

Biden held a 253-to-214 advantage in electoral votes over Trump on Thursday as vote counting continues in Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, North Carolina and Pennsylvania, according to multiple news organizations.

"It seems that Wall Street might get unofficial results fairly soon," Ed Moya, an analyst with OANDA, said via email. "The contest is not over, and President Trump will not go down without a fight, but financial markets are confident to price in a Biden presidency along with a Republican-controlled Senate."

The Trump campaign said Wednesday that it would launch a legal blitz to try to halt vote-counting in Pennsylvania and Michigan, would seek a recount in Wisconsin and challenged the handling of ballots in Georgia, threatening to draw out a resolution of the contest. But investors

on Wall Street and overseas seemed unconcerned.

"We have no doubt when the count is finished, Senator Harris and I will be declared the winner," Biden said Thursday in Delaware.

Asian markets closed higher across the board Wednesday, with Hong Kong's Hang Seng Index advancing 3.3 percent to post its best performance since July. Japan's Nikkei 225 climbed 1.7 percent, and the Shanghai Composite index gained 1.3 percent.

European indexes all advanced in midday trading.

"A new administration in the White House may well dial down tensions with other global superpowers on issues like trade," Russ Mould, the investment director at AJ Bell, said via email. "This certainly seemed to be the thinking in Asia overnight as Japanese and Chinese equities staged substantial rallies."

Even as the vote counting continued, the United States shattered coronavirus records Wednesday, reporting more than 104,000 new infections in a single day. Meanwhile, 18 states — including Kansas, Tennessee, Virginia, Oklahoma, Montana, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Ohio, Nebraska, Minnesota, Indiana, Wisconsin and West Virginia — reported record numbers of hospitalizations because of the virus that has killed at least 234,000 Americans since February, according to data tracked by The Washington Post.

The pandemic's surge could stall the economic recovery, which is showing signs of tapering. About 751,000 Americans filed new unemployment claims for the week ending on Oct. 31, the Labor Department reported Thursday. That's down from last week, but with 21.5 million people drawing unemployment aid, joblessness in the United States remains at crisis levels.

"Election uncertainty is moving back down, but employment uncertainty remains high," said Chris Rupkey, the chief financial economist at MUFG Union Bank. "Jobless claims continue at higher levels than the peak of the Great Recession over a decade ago."

Friday's monthly jobs report is expected to show a decline in unemployment in October.

david.lynnch@washpost.com
taylor.telford@washpost.com

DIGEST

CREDIT INDUSTRY

Justice files antitrust complaint against Visa

The U.S. Justice Department sued to block Visa's \$5.3 billion acquisition of Plaid, accusing Visa of using the deal to eliminate an emerging threat to its online debit business.

The Justice Department filed an antitrust complaint in federal court in San Francisco on Thursday, saying the Plaid deal would illegally extend Visa's dominant position.

"By acquiring Plaid, Visa would eliminate a nascent competitive threat that would likely result in substantial savings and more innovative online debit services for merchants and consumers," the government said.

The deal would give Visa control over an important data provider to apps like PayPal Holdings' Venmo, which allows consumers to send money to friends and merchants without using Visa's network.

Visa said it disagrees with the Justice Department's lawsuit,

which it said is "legally flawed and contradicted by the facts."

"This action reflects a lack of understanding of Plaid's business and the highly competitive payments landscape in which Visa operates," Visa said in a statement. "The combination of Visa and Plaid will deliver substantial benefits for consumers seeking access to a broader range of financial-related services, and Visa intends to defend the transaction vigorously." Plaid declined to comment.

— Bloomberg News

TECHNOLOGY

WhatsApp messages soon will disappear

Facebook's WhatsApp will roll out disappearing messages to users this month, which will delete posts in a chat after seven days, mirroring rival platforms such as Signal.

The function should help "the conversation feel lighter and more private," Facebook said in a statement on Thursday. For employers attempting to monitor

record numbers of staff working from home, the app's new feature may make it more difficult to police communications.

Financial services businesses, such as banks and trading firms, have been struggling to rein in employees who use these private lines, which are encrypted end-to-end, for inappropriate conversations that include everything from offensive content to insider information.

In March, a Jefferies Group banker was fined in Britain for sharing confidential data on WhatsApp, and a month later JPMorgan Chase punished more than a dozen traders for WhatsApp use and fired one. Last month, two senior commodities executives at Morgan Stanley left after compliance breaches linked to this type of communications tool. Facebook has been introducing more disappearing posting options to users across its various social networks.

— Bloomberg News

ALSO IN BUSINESS
Apple has been ordered to face a proposed class-action lawsuit by



People wearing masks shop at a market in Paris on Wednesday as France undergoes a second lockdown aimed at containing the spread of covid-19, the disease caused by the coronavirus.

shareholders who accused chief executive Tim Cook of concealing falling demand for iPhones in China, resulting in billions of dollars of investor losses. In a decision on Wednesday, U.S. District Judge Yvonne Gonzalez Rogers said that shareholders led by a British

pension fund can sue over Cook's comment on a Nov. 1, 2018, analyst call that while Apple was facing sales pressure in some emerging markets, "I would not put China in that category." Apple told suppliers to curb production a few days after Cook spoke, and on Jan. 2, 2019,

unexpectedly cut its quarterly revenue forecast by up to \$9 billion, which Cook blamed in part on pressure on China's economy from U.S.-China trade tensions.

The United States is suing for the forfeiture of thousands of Bitcoins, totaling more than \$1 billion, that it seized on Tuesday. The cryptocurrency seizure, tied to the Silk Road marketplace, is the largest the United States has ever made, the Justice Department said in a statement on Thursday. The seizure takes a swath of the digital cryptocurrency out of circulation at least temporarily. In the past, federal authorities have auctioned off seized Bitcoins, but usually months after acquiring them.

COMING TODAY
8:30 a.m.: Labor Department releases employment data for October.

Earnings: CVS Health, Marriott International

— From news services

You know the feeling when you're current on current events?

Finally rolling over your old 401k can bring you that same sense of satisfaction, and our rollover specialists are here to help, every step of the way.

Learn more at tdameritrade.com/rollover

A rollover is not your only alternative when dealing with old retirement plans. Please visit tdameritrade.com/rollover for more information on rollover alternatives. TD Ameritrade, Inc., member FINRA/SIPC. © 2020 TD Ameritrade.



Fed chief says pace of economic recovery is moderating

BY RACHEL SIEGEL

Federal Reserve Chair Jerome H. Powell on Thursday said the pace of the economic recovery has moderated over the past few months and cautioned that the recent rise in coronavirus cases in the United States and around the world is “particularly concerning.”

Powell said Fed officials expect the pace of the recovery to ease compared with strong gains from May and June in economic benchmarks from the labor market to consumer spending, especially given how deeply the economy was gutted in the spring.

Powell’s remarks at a virtual news conference following the Fed’s two-day policy meeting came just a day after the number of new U.S. coronavirus infections topped 100,000 for the first time in a single day.

“We have been concerned that the downside risks, though, are prevalent now, which are really the risk of the further spread of the disease and also the risk that households will run through the savings they’ve managed to accumulate on their balance sheet, and that could weigh on activity,” Powell said. “What we see is continued growth, continued expansion but at a gradually moderated pace.”

Case counts have been escalating, with a surge spreading across the Midwest and Plains states. Health officials fear the coronavirus crisis will intensify further going into the flu season. And as colder weather forces people indoors, restaurants, bars and other venues may be limited in how much business they can safely conduct outside.

“We’ve gotten through the first five to six months of the expansion better than expected,” Powell said. “But we do see in Europe — and look what’s happening here — a spike in cases as the cold weather arrives. I think we have to be humble relative to where we are with this disease.”

The Fed signaled Thursday that policymakers would stick to their current economic response, keeping interest rates near zero. Meanwhile, the nation waits for final election results, is gripped by a pandemic and stares down an uncertain recovery.

“The path of the economy will depend significantly on the



Federal Reserve Chair Jerome H. Powell speaks during a virtual news conference, in which he noted that the rise in coronavirus cases in the United States and around the world is “particularly concerning.” The Fed signaled that policymakers will keep interest rates near zero.

“We’ve gotten through the first five to six months of the expansion better than expected. But . . . we have to be humble relative to where we are with this disease.”

Jerome H. Powell,
Federal Reserve chair

course of the virus. The ongoing public health crisis will continue to weigh on economic activity, employment, and inflation in the near term, and poses considerable risks to the economic outlook over the medium term,” according to a statement released after the Fed’s meeting.

The Fed’s regular meeting fell as votes from Tuesday’s presidential election continued to be counted. When asked about the election, Powell said he was “very reluctant to comment on the election, directly or indirectly.”

Uncertainty around who will be in the White House in January is also obscuring any guesses at the timing and scope of another stimulus package, as millions of struggling households, businesses and local governments stare down a difficult winter.

Powell has long cautioned that the recovery rests on getting the public health crisis under control, which would give people more confidence to resume their old routines and spending habits. On Thursday, Powell again asserted that the country would have a stronger recovery with more fiscal aid.

“You see a lot of discussion on both sides of the aisle, on both sides of the Hill, that suggest generally that there will be something,” Powell said.

Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) on Wednesday said a stimulus bill would be the priority when the Senate goes back into session next Monday and should be completed before the end of the year. McConnell said a deal could include state and local aid, which Democrats have long advocated for.

Powell has repeatedly called for more aid from Congress, particularly when it comes to getting direct relief to those in industries most affected by the

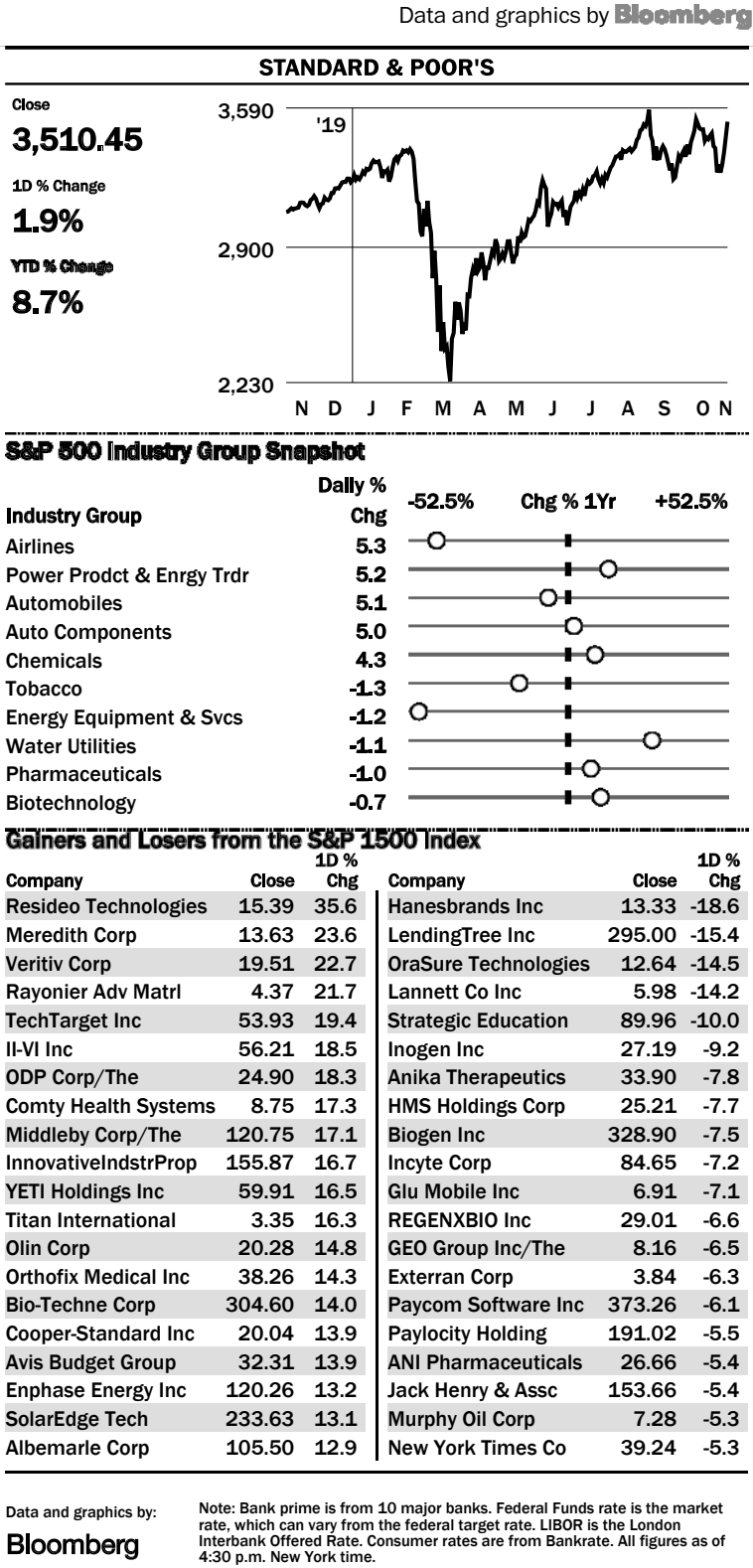
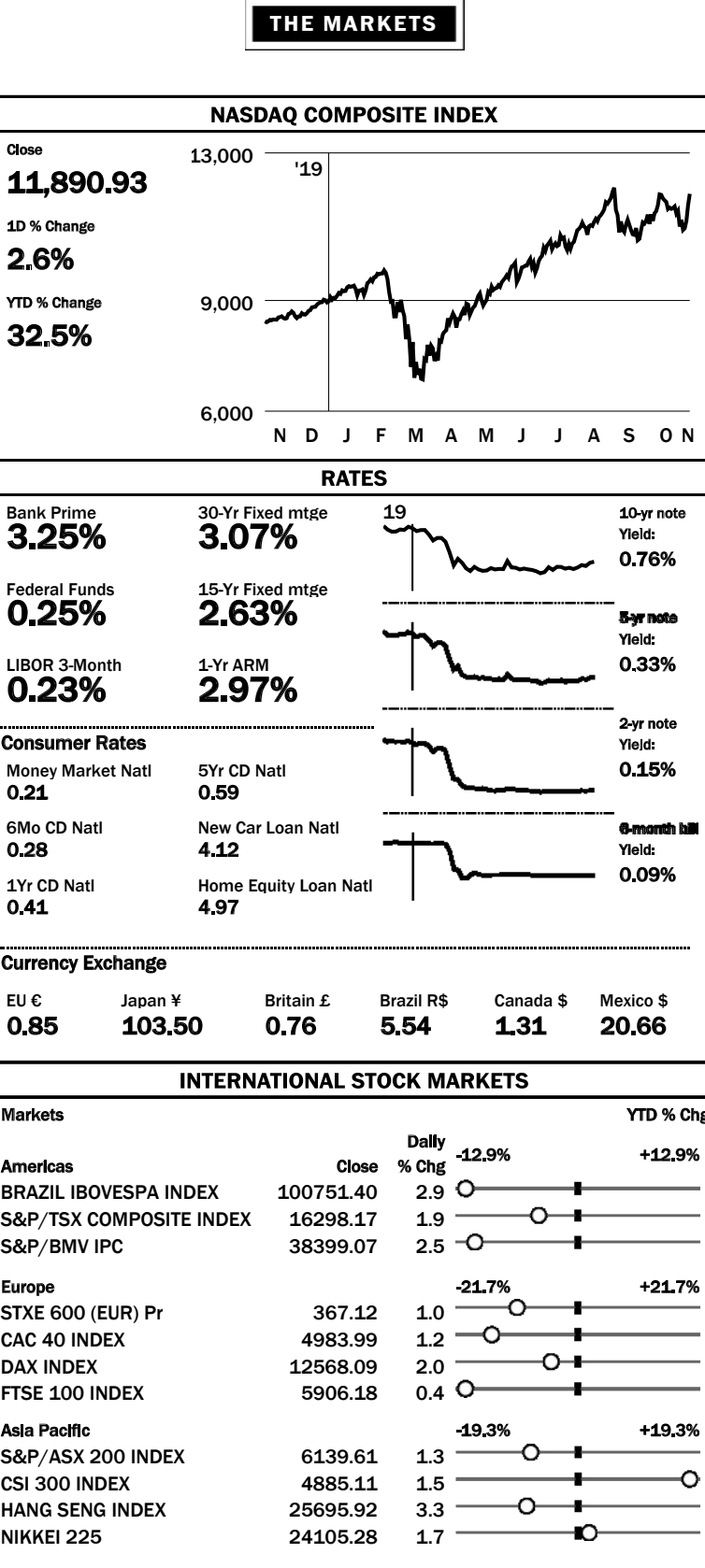
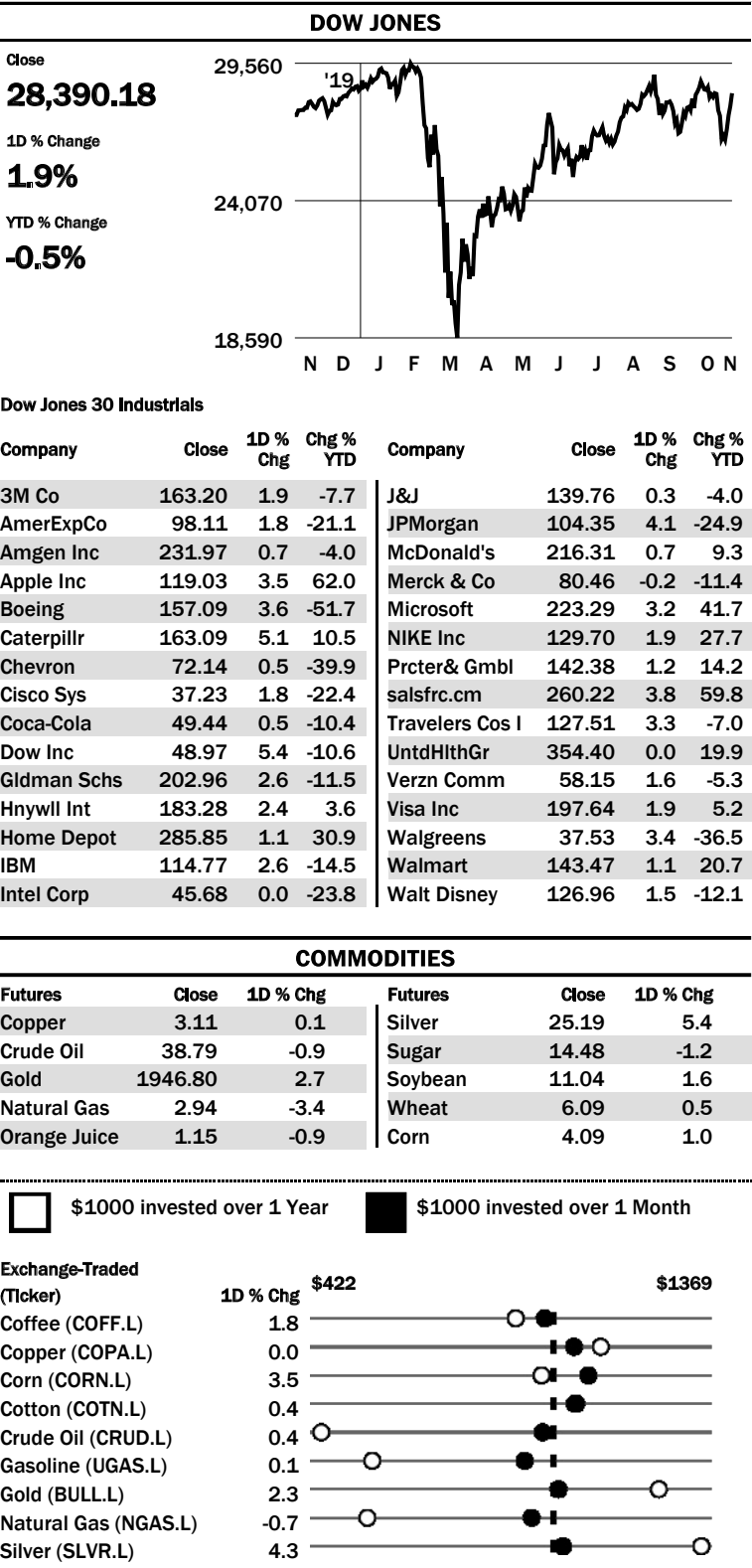
pandemic, such as restaurants, retail and hospitality. The Fed has also come under increased pressure to widen the reach of its own emergency lending programs and to consider new ways it can fill the economy’s lingering gaps.

Powell said the Fed was not out of ammunition. For now, the Fed is continuing to increase its holdings of Treasury securities and agency mortgage-backed securities at least at the current pace to keep the markets healthy.

“If things deteriorate, that’d be a case where you would want to continue the facilities and maybe change them and have some new ones,” Powell said.

Powell said the Fed was “just now turning” to questions about whether to extend the emergency lending programs beyond the end of this year. Those decisions would have to be made jointly with the Treasury Department.

Monitor your investments at [washingtonpost.com/markets](https://www.washingtonpost.com/markets)



What’s for dinner?

Search our database of tested recipes by ingredient or name.
[washingtonpost.com/recipes](https://www.washingtonpost.com/recipes)
The Washington Post

S0115-6x1

Viral videos helped blast voting lies across the Internet

BY DREW HARWELL

The news-style YouTube video posted Wednesday by the pro-Trump One America News network was loaded with bogus claims: “Boldly cheating” Democrats had stolen a “decisive victory for Trump” by “tossing Republican ballots, harvesting fake ballots” and calling their “antifa buddies to cause chaos . . . so that Americans stop focusing on the election and start fearing for their own safety.”

Officials at YouTube, the world’s largest video site, said the video showcased “demonstrably false content that undermines trust in the democratic process,” and they blocked it from pulling in advertising money. But they kept it viewable, attaching only a small disclaimer saying election “results may not be final,” because, they said, it did not directly break rules against videos that “materially discourage voting.” It has been viewed more than 400,000 times.

Videos on YouTube and other sites have become one of the most potent funnels of disinformation on the Web, helping boost election conspiracy theories and political point-scoring attempts faster than social media companies and fact-checkers can respond.

Since the election, millions have watched and shared videos featuring debunked or unproven allegations involving mysterious wagons, ripped-up ballots and vote-deleting felt-tip pens. A number of the videos have benefited from YouTube’s huge audiences, light-touch regulations and limited disclaimers on even the most certifiably false videos.

Evelyn Douek, a lecturer at Harvard Law School who researches online speech, said video sites like YouTube too often get a pass from the discussions over hate speech, conspiracy theories and viral misinformation that have defined Facebook’s and Twitter’s past few years.

Part of that is technical: Videos are harder to track and more time-consuming to check than simple, searchable text. But Douek also said it’s because regulators and journalists underappreciate the major pull videos have on our information ecosys-



Eric Trump, with wife Lara, attends a Philadelphia news conference on election-related lawsuits. The president’s son and allies in the GOP and on Fox News shared a deceptively edited video in which Democratic candidate Joe Biden appears to take pride in voter fraud.

tem: YouTube’s parent Google says more than a billion hours of video are watched there every day.

Unlike other social media sites, Douek said, YouTube had no policy addressing false claims of victory heading into the election, and the site didn’t publish a policy banning medical misinformation about the coronavirus until May 20, when more than 90,000 people in the United States had already died.

“We’re so focused on the other platforms that we don’t demand the same accountability and transparency from [YouTube],

and nobody kicks up a fuss,” she said. But “that has created a blind spot in our public discourse about misinformation and disinformation and all the same content moderation issues” facing the rest of the Web.

“We can’t just let them get away with this,” she added.

YouTube spokesman Farshad Shadloo said that the company’s rules are on par with other social media sites but that video streaming is a fundamentally different policing challenge than text and requires a different response. Some of the most recent disinformation videos, Shadloo said, have gained their largest audiences from Facebook, Twitter or other sites.

It’s easy to see why online videos have become so useful for getting one’s point across. They’re visceral, colorful, shareable; often way more fun than text. They lend a tinge of unearned authenticity, just by merit of being visual. And they reach people without the time, energy and interest to read — on websites and apps devoted to socializing and entertainment, not just the news.

Often overlooked amid Facebook’s crowded conversations, Instagram’s glossy imagery and Twitter’s fire hose of news, YouTube and other video sites have typically been regarded as niche online properties with little overlap in American debate.

They’re actually anything but: 1 in 4 U.S. adults say they get their news from YouTube, and more than 70 percent of those say they expect what they learn there was largely accurate, according to a September survey by the Pew Research Center. And viewers generally don’t care where that news is coming from: Just as many said they get their news from traditional outlets as from independent channels with a

clear political bent.

That includes rising conservative stars like the Right Side Broadcasting Network, an Alabama-based channel “On The Right Side of History,” which has been viewed more than 170 million times since 2014. More than 2 million users tuned in for at least some portion of its eight-hour live stream on election night, which featured interviews with fallen Fox host Bill O’Reilly and former National Rifle Association spokeswoman Dana Loesch.

Promoted to viewers “tired of the mainstream media overwhelming you with numbers and information without proper perspective,” the broadcast opened with host Mike Slater setting the coverage apart from others: “Have you learned nothing these last four years about the media and how they manipulate you? Do you trust them? . . . [Are we] going to start trusting them tonight?”

Also unlike Fox News, the channel’s viewers can talk with each other in a fast-scrolling chat box. “The media is the long arm of the globalist,” one popular comment said. “TRUMP is the arm breaker!”

The last days of the election have been rife with videos deceptively made or ripped out of context. In the last weeks of the campaign, President Trump’s son Eric and allies in the GOP and on Fox News shared a deceptively edited video in which Democratic candidate Joe Biden appears to take pride in the biggest “voter fraud organization” in history — when, in reality, he was saying exactly the opposite.

Some social media sites flagged it, but not before it was viewed millions of times; on Wednesday, newly elected Republican member of Congress Marjorie Taylor Greene, a booster

of the far-right QAnon conspiracy theory aligning Democrats with Satanists, pointed to the clip as proof of fraud “on full display right now!”

But even the most harmless videos were skewed as suspicious proof of shadowy fraud. A video of a man rolling a wagon away from the Detroit vote-counting center at 4 a.m. has gained 150,000 views — raising questions, as some claimed, of whether votes had been swindled under cover of night.

But that perception was totally bogus, a reporter for local TV news station WXYZ said late Wednesday, because “the ‘ballot thief’ was my photographer. He was bringing down equipment for our 12-hour shift.” (The video is still on YouTube, with no disclaimer or fact check.)

Videos with no basis in reality easily gained lives of their own. On Wednesday, Eric Trump alerted his 4 million Twitter followers to a video, supposedly of 80 Trump ballots being burned. The video was suspect on its face: It offered no clear evidence and had come from a since-suspended account with QAnon links in its profile named “Ninja_StuntZ.”

Election officials in Virginia Beach had, a day before, confirmed that the charred remains were actually sample ballots, easily printed by anyone. But Eric Trump’s tweet, which offers no disclaimer that it’s fake, nevertheless gained more than 30,000 retweets. The video has since been more widely distributed across far-right militant and pro-Trump online groups as proof of voter fraud. One repost of the misleading video on YouTube — titled “TWITTER REMOVED THIS VIDEO!” — has been viewed more than 84,000 times. Eric Trump did not respond to requests for comment.

Videos have been used to bol-

ster some unique methods of Election Day mischief, including with trolls who broadcast live streams of fake election results for hours on YouTube before the site’s moderators marked them as spam.

They have also played a growing role as the president and his allies cast doubt on the integrity of American elections. When Trump supporters rallied in protest outside election centers — first to count the vote, then to stop it — many live-streamed the confrontations with officials for their own online audiences.

Hours-long live streams from far-right provocateurs also have helped rally Trump supporters to his defense. Conservative commentator Steven Crowder trashed Democratic voters and interviewed far-right figures such as conspiracist Alex Jones, who labeled Biden a “walking corpse,” in a seven-hour live stream that has been viewed more than 8 million times.

Some voting officials have attempted to roll out videos in a way that could help smooth along the post-election aftermath. Election authorities in places like Arizona’s Maricopa County and Washington’s King County have launched live video feeds so Americans can see for themselves the thrilling dramas of signature verification and envelope review.

But even those bids to boost transparency inside the country’s election system have been misconstrued as proof there’s something to hide. Video of an official reinforcing the windows of a Detroit ballot-counting center has been passed around as proof of an actual voter coverup. “SHADY,” White House press secretary Kayleigh McEnany tweeted Wednesday, in a post retweeted more than 16,000 times.

One video by the pro-Trump YouTube creator Austin Fletcher, taken from a live stream inside an Atlanta vote-counting center, suggested that an election worker had crumpled and tossed a ballot away. It’s unclear that it’s a ballot, though; the paper in the video is unrecognizable. And election supervisors for Fulton County, Ga., whose officials did not immediately respond to requests for comment, can be seen monitoring nearby. The video was nevertheless viewed more than 3 million times Thursday, including with the help of a retweet by Donald Trump Jr.

“If that’s not voter fraud, I don’t know what is,” Fletcher said, offering zero actual evidence. Trump Jr.’s tweet hasn’t been flagged as “disputed” on Twitter, where it’s gained more than 30,000 retweets.

Just how effective are those disclaimers, anyway? The social media companies don’t offer details, but the endlessly multiplying nature of the Web probably limits their usefulness. An election-night video in which Trump supporters in Arizona said their votes with Sharpie pens had been mysteriously invalidated — totally false, election officials said — was labeled as “false information” by Facebook, where it’s been shared more than 125,000 times. The baseless “Sharpiegate” conspiracy theory is now practically unavoidable on Trump-boosting tweets, posts and message boards. It’s also potentially headed to court.

drew.harwell@washpost.com

Tonya Riley, Isaac Stanley-Becker, Tony Romm and Cat Zakrzewski contributed to this report.



Look for your 2021 Washington Post Calendar

featuring beautiful local scenes captured by The Post’s award-winning photographers,

Sunday, November 8

inside your Sunday Post Marketplace insert package.

The Washington Post

The Washington Post delivers all year long.

Not a subscriber? Call 202-334-6100 or go to [washingtonpost.com](https://www.washingtonpost.com) today!

S0856 - 2x10.5

Uber plans to bring legislative push outside Calif.

BY FAIZ SIDDIQUI

SAN FRANCISCO — Uber helped wage a \$200 million war in California to keep drivers as contractors. Now that the ballot measure has passed, the company says its work isn’t done.

The ride-hailing giant’s CEO said Thursday that Uber is looking to expand the model to other states, joining an executive from rival Lyft who said something similar earlier this week. Proposition 22 established workers as independent contractors, superseding a California law that aimed to make gig workers, including ride-hailing and food delivery drivers, employees with full benefits.

“Going forward, you’ll see us more loudly advocating for . . . laws like Prop 22,” Uber CEO Dara Khosrowshahi said, adding later: “We were the first to come forward with this [independent contractor]-plus model, the idea that drivers deserve flexibility plus benefits. We want to have a dialogue with governments [in] other states.”

Prop 22, which was approved



Ride-hailing giant Uber fought for California’s Proposition 22, which established its workers as independent contractors.

by 58 percent of voters, makes drivers independent contractors with promises of 120 percent of the minimum wage and a health-care contribution, equivalent to either half or 100 percent of the employer-provided average under the Affordable Care Act. Unlike full employment, however, benefits are calculated based on a

driver’s active time, negating the potential hours per week they spend waiting for a fare while logged onto the apps.

Labor advocates fiercely opposed Prop 22, saying it was a transparent attempt to snatch newly enshrined employment rights from workers.

Companies such as Uber,

DoorDash and Instacart, which contributed to the \$200 million campaign war chest in support of it, said they needed to maintain their contract models to keep the flexibility that allow short wait times and low fares within their apps.

But steep costs also come with employment. Uber and Lyft’s stocks have rallied this week, logging percentage gains in the double digits as investors reacted to the news that they would not have to make drivers employees.

Still, the more limited benefits instated by Prop 22 will cost Uber.

“It will result in probably a 5 percent increase to cover the incremental [costs],” including benefits, said Uber chief financial officer Nelson Chai. “We do believe that it’ll be manageable.”

Uber reported a \$1.1 billion quarterly loss in the period that ended in September, 6 percent less than the figure reported in the same quarter a year ago. The company has not been profitable since debuting on the stock market in May 2019.

faiz.siddiqui@washpost.com

FRIDAY OPINION

EUGENE ROBINSON

Expect Trump’s worst if he loses

If President Trump ultimately loses the election, as now seems likely, the question is how much more damage he can do before he is dragged kicking and screaming — or flounces — out of the White House. Judging by his behavior on Thursday, I’m afraid we should expect the worst. First he tweeted, “STOP THE COUNT!” then “STOP THE FRAUD!” His demands were both undemocratic and self-defeating; at that moment, Joe Biden was leading in enough states to give him 270 electoral votes and the presidency.

Angry Trump supporters dutifully gathered outside buildings where votes were being counted in Philadelphia, Phoenix, Las Vegas and other cities, demanding that the electoral process be short-circuited. It was shocking — but in the Trump era, not surprising — to see Americans openly calling for the votes of other Americans to be nullified.

Later in the evening, Trump gave a rambling, in-person statement that might have read like badly written fiction if it weren’t so dangerous. He accused Democrats of perpetrating a massive fraud, saying, “Our numbers started miraculously getting whittled away in secret,” painting the legal and democratic counting of absentee and mail ballots as a monstrous conspiracy, and alleged that polls that understated his support were an effort to drive down Republican turnout. These are lies, told in service of an open attempt to disenfranchise Americans who did their best to meet their civic obligations in extraordinary circumstances.

In this tense period of not knowing the final result, it is worth recalling why the count has proceeded so slowly — and why those last few votes to be counted are so crucial. Unprecedented numbers of voters chose to cast their ballots by mail because of the covid-19 pandemic, and those mail-in votes take time to certify and tally. As if to illustrate the risk, the nation recorded more than 100,000 new cases of covid-19 on Wednesday, an all-time high.

But Trump cynically and tragically politicized the coronavirus and the politically neutral process of voting by mail. The result: Democrats chose to use mail-in or absentee options, while more Republicans decided to vote in person. In states such as Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Georgia, GOP-led state legislatures refused to allow election officials to begin counting mail-in votes until Election Day.

The predictable result was a “red mirage.” The rapid tabulation of in-person votes gave Trump and the Republicans early leads that slowly eroded as the mail-in votes were counted. That process continues.

Where Trump is concerned, Lord knows that anything can happen — witness the outcome in 2016, which gave many of us symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. But the fact that he is indeed likely to lose is illustrated by the lawsuits his campaign has filed in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Georgia contesting how and even whether some votes are counted. Whatever Trump said on Thursday about the litigation his campaign is pursuing, candidates confident of victory do not run to the courts, especially not with suits such as these.

There appeared to be little merit in the Trump complaints. He wants the count halted in Michigan. But counting is already finished there, and he lost. He exercised his right to demand a recount in Wisconsin, where he lost by 20,000 votes, a margin of a size almost never reversed in a recount.

But Trump’s ploys did threaten to further delay what a bitterly divided nation sorely needs: a final result and the assurance everyone should accept it.

It was impossible not to recall the traumatic election of 2000, when the outcome hinged on Florida and the nation endured weeks of legal wrangling over so-called pregnant and hanging chads. The Supreme Court ultimately handed victory to George W. Bush. His Democratic opponent, Al Gore, offered a graceful concession — even though his supporters believed he would have won had all the votes been counted. Does anyone imagine that Trump is capable of such a patriotic gesture? I certainly don’t.

Much more likely is that whatever happens in court, Trump refuses to acknowledge that Biden beat him fairly and squarely.

If and when Biden is certified as the winner, Trump will indeed go. But everything in his history leads me to expect that he will portray Biden’s victory as unfair and illegitimate. For his legions of true believers, this allegedly “stolen” election will become a new “Lost Cause” to be avenged.

Biden will end up winning the popular vote by roughly 4 million votes — but this means that more than 68 million Americans voted for Trump, while more than 72 million chose Biden. In a year of record-high turnout, the nation is almost literally split down the middle. A statesman would do what Gore did and call for unity. Trump is many things, but a statesman he is not.

In the time he has left in office, and even after he leaves, I expect Trump to do everything he can to deepen the divisions in our society rather than heal them.

Soon, I hope, he will be gone — and we can reclaim the time and attention spent feeding his ravenous ego.

Twitter: @Eugene_Robinson



President Trump speaks during an election-night event at the White House early Wednesday.

GEORGE T. CONWAY III

A presidency fueled by lies finishes with the worst one

It’s somehow fitting. A presidency launched with lies, and fueled by them ever since, was destined to finish with the worst of them all.

Donald Trump’s presidency began on Jan. 20, 2017, with what he asserted was “the largest audience to ever witness an inauguration — period,” a claim whose absurdity was evident to anyone with eyes. From his first week in office, the president lied about an election that everyone agreed he had *won*. He claimed that “VOTER FRAUD,” by “millions” of noncitizens, cadavers and “people registered in two states,” had deprived him of a popular-vote majority in 2016.

“I don’t think anybody has done what we did over the [first] 100 days,” Trump proclaimed — after having uttered hundreds of falsehoods during that time. He asserted, without evidence, that President Barack Obama had placed a “tapp [sic]” on “my phones.” He lied about health care, the economy, immigration and trade — repeatedly. He even claimed that, under his proposed tax plan, he’d “probably pay more than I’m paying right now,” which might, unlike the rest of his claims, have been literally true, because, as we now know, he was barely paying taxes at all.

But all that was just the beginning. Trump has told lies about virtually everything ever since, lies big and small, meaningful and meaningless, saying anything to put himself in the best position or the best light. He lied about paying off a porn star. He lied, despite photographic evidence, about having never met a woman who accused him of rape.

He lied about what he was impeached for, and about what he should have been impeached for, by claiming his phone call with the Ukrainian president was perfect, and by asserting that special counsel Robert S. Mueller III had exonerated him. He lied about deceptively marking up a hurricane

map with a Sharpie.

And on and on and on. As time passed, Trump self-servingly misled with ever-increasing speed, about subjects of escalating import. By the end of August, when he accepted his nomination for reelection, he’d told more than 22,000 falsehoods in office, barreling ahead at a clip of more than 50 a day, meaning that he is probably over 25,000 by now.

The newer lies are the most serious — for individual citizens and for our democracy. Without hesitation, Trump has said anything about the pandemic he has thought politically helpful, whether it was true or made sense. We know the litany by heart: The coronavirus affects virtually no one. We’ve rounded the corner. A vaccine is almost here. Herd immunity will save us. We have so many cases because we test. Doctors and hospitals are lying about deaths to get money. The press talks about covid, covid, covid to hurt me. Come Nov. 4, you’ll never hear about the virus again.

On Nov. 4, the country recorded a record 104,004 new infections. The death toll has surpassed 234,000. We’ll be counting cases and deaths long after we finish counting votes.

As for our democracy, Trump unceasingly and maliciously maligned the electoral process, just as he did when he took office. Facing an uphill reelection fight, he made every false claim he could to delegitimize, or set the stage for challenging, the result — truth, logic and consistency be damned, even at the price of undermining the democratic system he swore an oath to protect.

Mail-in voting begets fraud, Trump said, except when conducted by people or in places supporting him. Democratic governors were sending mail-in ballots to dogs. Ballots were being “dumped in rivers.” Votes were being faked, votes were being discarded — take your pick. “2020 will be the most INACCURATE & FRAUDULENT Elec-

tion in history,” “a great embarrassment to the USA,” he tweeted in July. He said he could lose only if the election were “rigged.”

In effect, Trump announced long ago precisely what he would be doing now: spuriously assert victory, and mendaciously claim thievery, “a fraud on the American public,” before all the votes were counted, and without the slightest evidence of fraud. In states where he was behind, he’d say votes had been miscounted, or needed to be counted again; where ahead, he’d insist that merely counting new votes amounts to the “finding” of fraudulent ballots.

Claim “plenty of proof” of “Voter Fraud and State Election Fraud” — without an ounce of it. And wherever it matters, bring meritless lawsuits. Argue to “STOP THE COUNT!” — or not — depending not on the facts, or the law, or simple fairness, but upon what he believes at any moment might help him.

Trump’s conduct illustrates, as well as anything else over the past four years, his unfitness for office. Trump may lose his lawsuits and lose the election, but he will never give up on his claims of fraud.

That was on florid display in the White House briefing room on Thursday night, when Trump claimed, without any basis, that he had won the election. “This is a case where they’re trying to steal an election, they’re trying to rig an election, and we can’t let that happen,” Trump asserted. He said every “legal” vote should count — but, of course, his view of a legal vote is one that is cast for him.

In the end, his deranged claims of fraud will have accomplished only one thing: He will have squandered his last and best chance to show he could admit the truth and, for once, do something right by the country instead of himself.

The writer is a lawyer and a co-founder of the Lincoln Project, an anti-Trump super PAC.

DANIELLE ALLEN

Hopeful signs from the states

The results of our national election may tell a story of division, but state ballot propositions tell a different tale. They show Americans agreeing about significant priorities, including a fundamental re-making of our justice system. There is much to be grateful for here, and something to build on.

The American people — step by step, in red states and blue — are ending the war on drugs. With strong majorities, ballot measures in four states — Arizona (59.8 percent of the vote at the time of this writing), Montana (56.6 percent), New Jersey (66.9 percent) and South Dakota (54.2 percent) — legalized recreational marijuana. This brings to 15 the number of states that have done so. In Mississippi, a supermajority of 74 percent legalized medical marijuana.

Oregon, which legalized marijuana in 1973, passed a measure (58.8 percent) to decriminalize even so-called hard drugs, following a successful example in Portugal. Possession of small amounts of drugs including heroin and cocaine will still be illegal but as a civil violation, carrying a small fine, not a criminal violation bringing prison time. Funds saved from changed enforcement practice will support addiction recovery centers. Among other things, these measures will reduce prison populations.

In another blow against the injustices of mass incarceration, 59.1 percent of California voters supported Proposition 17 to restore the vote to parolees. In this they joined Florida’s voters, who in 2018 (with a near-supermajority of 65 percent) amended their state constitution to automatically restore voting rights to convicted felons who have completed their sentences, except for those convicted of murder or sexual offenses.

The people of Mississippi successfully

replaced a state flag that had included emblems of the Confederacy with a new one decorated with a magnolia, stars and the phrase “In God We Trust.” In Rhode Island, citizens removed the words “Providence Plantations” from the official state name. We do have the capacity to grapple with our past of racial domination and develop new narratives for who we are and what we want to be.

Why do our national electoral politics look so different? The problem is not with the American people or our choices per se but with the rules we use for organizing our elections. In general, we use a plurality system, sometimes confusingly referred to as “first past the post”: Whoever candidate has the most votes wins the election. When there are only two candidates in the race, this means one of the candidates will almost certainly earn a majority. Indeed, the Founders expected that the requirement to break 50 percent would define the goal post of electoral politics. But when there are more than two candidates for an office, as is often true in primaries, a candidate can win with something less than a majority — that is, the goal post implicitly moves below 50 percent for the candidate who is said to finish first. In Massachusetts, the recent winner of the Democratic primary in the state’s 4th Congressional District won with just 22.4 percent of the vote.

Pursuing a true majority inevitably requires cobbling together coalitions and campaigning toward an electoral center of gravity. A plurality system, in contrast, incentivizes candidates to drive wedges in order to secure a sufficiently larger portion of the electorate than their rivals. They are also incentivized to use negative campaigning to try to keep their opponents’ voters from

turning out to vote. Plurality voting mechanisms are a recipe for divisive, highly factionalized politics.

There is an alternative, known as ranked-choice voting. Ranked-choice voting is like making an instant runoff part of the initial vote. When you vote, you select not just your first choice but also your second, third and so on. If no candidate gets a majority of first-choice votes, the lowest vote-getter in the race is eliminated, and their voters’ votes are then assigned to whomever those voters selected as a second choice. If no one still has a majority, the next-lowest person is eliminated and their voters’ third-choice votes are added to the tallies of the higher vote-getters. Whoever gets past the 50 percent mark of voter support first wins.

Maine now uses this electoral system, as do several municipalities. New York City will use it in its upcoming mayoral election. A ballot proposition for ranked-choice voting in Massachusetts failed this year, but it had robust early-stage support.

Proponents of ranked-choice voting (of whom I am one) should take heart from the drug-reform measures. They have been decades in the making. Success in democratic life follows slow, labor-intensive work of citizens talking to each other, sharing stories and ideas, and ultimately persuading one another. We can and should reclaim our shared narratives from politicians who base their campaigns on the politics of division. We can most efficiently reclaim our own power to forge agreement and common purpose by adopting ranked-choice voting.

Danielle Allen, a Post contributing columnist, is the author of “Cuz: The Life and Times of Michael A.”

MICHAEL GERSON

Who we are in 2020

Some presidential elections seem to change who we are as a people — or at least announce the arrival of a new order of things. The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt heralded a new, humane, larger role for government in a shattered economy. The election of John F. Kennedy marked the arrival of the generation that fought World War II into positions of power.

But 1932 and 1960 were exceptions. Most elections simply reflect who we are, like you’d expect from a vast mosaic of individual preferences.

The 2020 presidential election — conducted during a deadly pandemic, accompanied by racial protests, in the wake of massive economic dislocation — felt like it should be transformative. But what has unfolded is really a mirror. And most Americans seem happy with their reflected image.

Trumpians feel confirmed in their belief that a hostile establishment and hidden “deep state” are conspiring against their dignity and influence. Democratic progressives feel confirmed in their belief that the politics of compromise has gained liberalism nothing. Democratic centrists feel confirmed in their belief that they are saving liberalism from political oblivion. No large group of voters came away chastened or sobered.

More than any other reason, this is because politics has become a function of culture. A factual debate can be adjudicated. Policy differences can be compromised. Even an ideological conflict can be bridged or transcended. But if our differences are an expression of our identities — rural vs. urban, religious vs. secular, nationalist vs. cosmopolitan — then political loss threatens a whole way of life.

Donald Trump was elected to the office once held by Thomas Jefferson because he understood or intuited the cultural nature of American politics. His 2016 election was proof that a presidential candidate can win without proposing specific policies. His 2020 campaign was proof that an incumbent can nearly win reelection without having performed basic public duties. Policy and performance are irrelevant when there is only one political question: Is he on our side in the great cultural conflict?

This tendency is hardly new, but its tenacity is truly remarkable. It is one thing to keep your drunk uncle at the family picnic when he belches and swears. It is another thing when he starts urging family members to play Russian roulette and cages children from neighboring picnics. But this is what Republicans and conservatives have generally done. Since Trump is on their cultural side, the Fifth Avenue principle applies. He can cough on pedestrians all he wants and not lose any (or at least many) voters.

But I promised myself that I would not relitigate the election. (I have also promised myself not to eat leftover Halloween candy, to similar effect.) The more important questions are: How does a [new] president govern — and how does a democracy function in the face of cultural polarization?

It is the columnist’s prerogative to respond: Watch this space. It encourages me that President-elect Joe Biden [if he is elected], House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) share a small but important micro-culture: the legislative tribe. If they want to see progress in fighting covid-19 and addressing pressing economic problems, they know how to make deals.

It encourages me that organizations such as the American Enterprise Institute are producing the innovative policy proposals (see AEI’s “Governing Priorities”) that an ambitious Republican reformer might run with.

And there’s something practical that citizens can do to address political polarization. It is important to the cohesion of our society that people keep a portion of their deepest selves off limits to politics entirely — the place where kindness, decency and hospitality dwell. Any political belief (really, any belief) that causes us to refuse friendship or fellowship to nonbelievers is wrong and corrosive, no matter how noble or necessary it may seem.

This is not to argue for any lessening of political intensity. The pursuit of justice requires passion and commitment. But any serious conception of justice is universally applicable. And that means the person screaming in your face is equal in value and dignity to you or anyone in your tribe. Real justice implies mercy and compassion, because that is what we hope our own dignity would merit from others. Any political system that preempts the Golden Rule is an attack on the ideal of human equality at the foundation of democracy. If we hold to constitutional values, dehumanization is a dangerous and discrediting form of hypocrisy.

In a divided nation, Americans need to defend a space in their lives where cable news does not reach, where social media does not incite, and where the basic, natural tendency is to treat other people like human beings. This offers not just the prospect of greater tolerance, but the hope of healing.

michaeltgerson@washpost.com

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

EDITORIALS

A most despicable lie

Losing an election, Mr. Trump chooses to slander American democracy.

PRESIDENT TRUMP did the country the favor of explaining ahead of time how he planned to falsely allege the rigging of the election for his opponent. Thursday evening in the White House, he followed up with a series of preposterous, inflammatory lies about the vote-counting process. “There’s been tremendous corruption and fraud going on,” he said.

Let’s be absolutely clear: There is zero — zero — evidence of fraud or corruption. What Mr. Trump sees as nefarious is something more mundane though undoubtedly painful for him: He is losing. On election night in some states, he held a lead in partial counts. Then, as mail-in ballots were counted, his lead was “whittled away,” as he said. The explanation is obvious to everyone except, apparently, the president. He railed so much against mail-in voting before the election that few Republicans voted that way. Most of the mailed ballots therefore favor Democrat Joe Biden. Now officials are counting the votes — with observers watching, contrary to another Trump lie; with both Republican and Democratic election officials participating, contrary to another Trump lie; and in accordance with the rules, contrary to yet another Trump lie.

For news networks and platforms, these relentless, bald-faced falsehoods present an almost insuperable chal-

lenge. Hashtags exhorting readers to “stop the steal” exploded in popularity after Mr. Trump used Twitter to accuse Joe Biden of trying to “STEAL the election,” and then took to television to claim baselessly that he had won and that any other outcome would constitute a “fraud.”

Purveyors of propaganda within Mr. Trump’s circle needed no further cues. Eric Trump shared a fake “ballot-burning” video originally from sources affiliated with the QAnon conspiracy theory; he also announced, “We have won Pennsylvania!” even as evidence to the contrary flowed in. Newt Gingrich launched allegations of vote theft on “Fox & Friends”; Rush Limbaugh shared a viral lie about more votes than registered voters arriving in Wisconsin; hyperpartisan outlets such as One America News declared a second term for the incumbent (“MSM hopes you don’t believe your eyes”).

News networks, platforms and other intermediaries to the public can try to contain the damage. Twitter’s aggressive labeling of misleading posts coupled with its sharing restrictions have proved fairly effective, though catching those who echo the original falsehoods is tougher. Facebook’s label-only strategy has been somewhat less effective but still useful. YouTube has lacked a policy almost entirely.

Television networks also are struggling with how to handle an unprecedented assault on democracy consisting of patently incorrect but newsworthy claims. Thankfully, anchors have mostly been forceful at pushing back: Fox News’s Bret Baier and Martha MacCallum, among others, have set the facts straight on many of the fanciful fraud accusations. Of course, these efforts would be more effective if their network contended with its own disinformation superspreaders, including Sean Hannity and Laura Ingraham, by challenging their mendacity in something closer to real time. As Mr. Trump spewed lie after insidious lie from the White House press room Thursday evening, many networks cut away entirely. CNN continued to air his remarks, most of the time with a chyron pointing out their bogusness; Fox News’s chyron at one point simply quoted Mr. Trump saying, without proof, “WE HAVE SO MUCH PROOF.”

We hope, even after so many disappointments, that other Republican leaders will stand up to this most vile attack on the integrity of American democracy and say, “Enough.” Whether they do or not, we are confident that election officials across the country will continue doing their job: counting every vote. We are confident, too, that most Americans will see these lies for what they are: desperate and despicable.

DRAWING BOARD MATT DAVIES



FOR NEWSDAY

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

letters@washpost.com

An inadequate plan

Kirby Vining’s Nov. 1 Local Opinions essay on proposed changes to D.C.’s Comprehensive Plan, “Are the proposed changes to D.C.’s Comprehensive Plan already out of date?” was premised on speculation that D.C.’s growth is over and proposed solutions that primarily preserve the city as it is. There is no evidence the coronavirus pandemic will slow growth enough to reduce housing insecurity. Worse, his solutions reflect 50-year-old slow-growth ideas that have nowhere reduced housing insecurity. Where implemented, they have instead forced the young and poor into overcrowding that has accelerated the pandemic and car-dependent exurbs that are exacerbating climate change.

But I agree with Mr. Vining that the proposed Comprehensive Plan is inadequate. It does not call for enough change to address the challenges D.C. faces, nor does it repair the inequalities embodied in the status quo. A better model exists in the recent policies of the Paris region, which has nearly doubled construction of housing since 2015. The popular mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, has gone further, constructing public housing in affluent areas and reclaiming public space from private automobiles. When the Committee of 100 was founded in 1923, its members looked to Paris as a model. Even if they don’t want to now, the rest of D.C. should.

Neil Flanagan, *Washington*

The 2020 vote and America

The points Gary Abernathy articulated in his Nov. 4 op-ed, “Once again, the elites are left flabbergasted,” certainly have a bearing on how successful President Trump might be in being reelected. However, it seems Mr. Trump has added to the arsenal from 2016 that Mr. Abernathy so eloquently described: voter intimidation, voter suppression, fraud and questionably legal activities by the U.S. Postal Service at the order of the postmaster general (a friend and major donor to Mr. Trump’s reelection campaign). If Mr. Trump is reelected, it will not be because of a repeat of what happened in 2016. Though those strategies might still be in play, they have been augmented by unscrupulous, unprincipled and amoral tactics.

Mr. Abernathy’s column pandered to Mr. Trump and completely ignored the frightening realities of what has been happening over the past several weeks and months.

Anne Sebestyen, *Newton, Mass.*

Elite: a select group that is superior in terms of ability or qualities to the rest of a group or society.

Above is a definition of “elite.” The apprehension of the term as a synonym for Democrats is laughable given that as many Republicans as Democrats fit that term. Gary Abernathy and his name-calling associates ought to blush in shame.

Ed Feldman, *Silver Spring*

Twice within weeks of the 2020 election, the Supreme Court decided not to decide whether the Pennsylvania Supreme Court’s ruling to require that ballots postmarked on or before the close of the polls on Election Day and received by 5 p.m. on Nov. 6 be counted.

Writing for himself and Justices Clarence Thomas and Neil M. Gorsuch, Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. stated there was “simply not enough time at this late date

to decide the question before the election,” seemingly a victory for democracy.

Disturbingly, Justice Alito added, this “does not mean . . . that the state court decision must escape our review.” If all of the votes of people casting their ballots in person before the polls closing on Nov. 3 are valid, then all of the ballots cast and postmarked before the close of the polls that night by registered voters who, in good faith, relied on the commonwealth court’s unambiguous ruling must likewise be counted, even if received within a few days after the election because of the time beyond their control it takes the U.S. Postal Service to securely collect, route and deliver them to the board of elections.

If Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden secures a narrow victory in Pennsylvania, the likelihood of a court challenge by President Trump and his legal minions is a given. For the Supreme Court to then intervene would be a tragedy of enormous proportions in an already ultra-polarized political environment in which the president has attacked and tried to undermine many of our nation’s most trusted and cherished institutions.

Dick Newbert, *Langhorne, Pa.*

I am depressed and shocked that so many Americans could vote for such a terrible man, such an unworthy candidate as President Trump. My belief that most Americans shared a set of democratic values and a respect for human rights is destroyed. My faith and love for my country are shattered. If I were able, I would flee to a place that has not broken my heart.

Gerald Vogel, *Germantown*

It’s a close race, not “A nation divided” [front page Nov. 4]. It’s a nation united, exercising a democratic right to vote. This headline invited even more division in these already fragile times. Among the pandemic, racial tensions and economic uncertainty, we certainly don’t need to supply further damage with negative headlines like this. I’m very proud to live in a country where, despite current difficulties, we can exercise the freedom to vote for whomever we feel will do a better job. That’s democracy, not a nation divided.

Dale Barnhard, *Silver Spring*

The election has solidified that at least half our country condones and supports child separation and incarceration, the deadly spread of a virus, the end of self-expression in public, and that health care, the environment and education will no longer be guaranteed and might be unavailable to future generations. I am saddened.

Randy Stein, *Alexandria*

In his sleep-deprived, incoherent and desperate state, President Trump attempted a Napoleonic move by trying to crown himself as president (emperor) for the next four years. Whether the will of the people confirms that, I have a simple suggestion for the demagogue wannabe. I plagiarize Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden here: “Shut up, man!”

This is a democracy, and every legal vote must be counted to discern the will of the people. It’s the voice of the people that must be heard, not Mr. Trump’s.

Joseph A. Izzo, *Washington*

✉ Letters and Local Opinions:
letters@washpost.com
Op-eds: oped@washpost.com

Mr. Trump’s pandemic legacy

Voters believed the president’s delusions. Will they resist new efforts to contain the virus?

FOR MUCH of the past year, President Trump’s handling of the pandemic response has been roundly criticized as cavalier, negligent and deceptive. But the election results and exit polling suggest that aspects of his approach to the coronavirus were accepted and endorsed by nearly half the electorate. The coming winter phase of the pandemic is going to be more difficult than earlier months, and people will probably be asked to accept new restrictions to curb viral transmission. How will these voters react?

No doubt, if Mr. Trump had heeded the advice of public health experts, and managed to achieve a better response with fewer deaths, he might have sailed to reelection. Instead, he defied medical specialists, demanded that states prematurely open, lied about the severity of the virus, disdained mitigation measures such as wearing face masks, and strong-armed the nation’s public health agencies to do his election-year bidding. He won 69 million votes *after* half-joking about injecting bleach and hawking a useless antimalarial drug and turning the entire pandemic response over to the beleaguered governors. More than 234,000 Americans have died, and 9.5 million have been infected. “Why has the United States handled this pandemic so badly?” asked the editors of the New England Journal of Medicine. “We have failed at almost every step.”

It’s impossible to know why so many voters accepted or discounted this failure, but surveys offer clues. In preliminary exit polling by Edison Research for The Post and other media organizations, only 14 percent of Mr. Trump’s backers said the pandemic was the top issue for them, while 82 percent identified the economy. Seventy-six percent of Mr. Trump’s backers endorsed “rebuilding the economy now,



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump leaves after speaking at an election-night event in the East Room at the White House early Wednesday morning.

even if it hurts efforts to contain the coronavirus,” while only 18 percent endorsed “containing the virus now, even if it hurts the economy.” Among Mr. Trump’s supporters, 78 percent said the handling of the pandemic was going “very well or somewhat well,” and 72 percent said wearing a face mask is a “personal choice,” while 35 percent said it was a “public health responsibility.”

These findings offer a glimpse of a looming public health challenge: how to persuade people to fight a worsening pandemic. It will require public trust,

cooperation and sacrifice, including from those who voted for Mr. Trump. New restrictions may crimp businesses, require more frequent use of face masks and demand selective shutdowns. What will the Trump voters do? The denialism Mr. Trump fostered won’t soon dissipate, but President-elect (as we hope he will soon be) Joe Biden will be truthful about the virus, and over time that may help. Mr. Biden also must clearly explain that confronting the virus in a serious way is the only road to full economic recovery and reopening.

‘The status quo has got to go’

An overdue shake-up could bring needed diversity to Thomas Jefferson High School.

AFTER DECADES of failed efforts to enroll more Black, Hispanic and low-income students at Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology, Fairfax County school officials have decided to eliminate the admissions test that played a determining role in who got into the prestigious public school. Gone, too, is the \$100 application fee, and other changes are being considered in a long-overdue shake-up aimed at bringing needed diversity to the school.

The changes have not come without controversy. There has been a heated debate, with critics saying the changes will “dumb down” a school that consistently has been ranked as one of the nation’s best. Some parents of Asian students, who make up more than 70 percent of the enrollment at Thomas Jefferson, see the changes as an attack on them that will lessen opportunities for their children. Some have accused those who are pushing for change as exploiting the tragedy of George

Floyd’s death.

The death of Mr. Floyd in May under the knee of a White Minneapolis police officer did spark a national conversation that spotlighted inequities across a host of American institutions. It is a credit to Fairfax school officials that, prodded by a passionate group of TJ alumni who benefited from the school but see its failings, they are giving this issue the attention it is due. “The status quo has got to go,” Fairfax County Public Schools Superintendent Scott Brabrand said on a recent broadcast of WAMU’s “Kojo Nnamdi Show.” He pointed to the school’s failure to reflect the diversity of the Northern Virginia communities it serves and defended the decision to eliminate the admissions test.

Some of the country’s best universities have moved away from a reliance on standardized test scores, and Mr. Brabrand makes a compelling argument that the test, which gave an advantage to students with the resources for expensive test prep, long ago ceased to be the best measure of student

talent and potential. The challenge now is coming up with a new system. The superintendent’s initial proposal was for a merit-based lottery for applicants who maintained a 3.5 grade-point average, had completed Algebra I and filled out an extensive questionnaire. That ran into opposition, and he was sent back to the drawing board to develop different options, expected this month.

Problems extend beyond the admission process. There are inequities in how children are identified in the early grades for enriched learning, and disparities exist in which schools even offer advanced learning programs. Some Black and Hispanic students said they were not encouraged — or were even discouraged — from applying to Thomas Jefferson. Some of those who do get there, like Didi Elsyad, whose story was recently detailed by The Post’s Hannah Natanson, are made to feel unwelcome. We urge the school board not to shirk from the challenge of making this school more fairly serve a diverse community.

The Washington Post

FREDERICK J. RYAN JR., Publisher and Chief Executive Officer

News pages:
MARTIN BARON
Executive Editor
CAMERON BARR
Managing Editor
TRACY GRANT
Managing Editor
KAT DOWNS MULDER
Managing Editor
KRISSAH THOMPSON
Managing Editor
SCOTT VANCE
Deputy Managing Editor
BARBARA VOBEJDA
Deputy Managing Editor

Editorial and opinion pages:
FRED HATT
Editorial Page Editor
JACKSON DIEHL
Deputy Editorial Page Editor
RUTH MARCUS
Deputy Editorial Page Editor
JO-ANN ARMAO
Associate Editorial Page Editor

Vice Presidents:

JAMES W. COLEY JR.Production
L. WAYNE CONNELLHuman Resources
KATE M. DAVEYRevenue Strategy
ELIZABETH H. DIAZAudience Development & Insights
GREGG J. FERNANDESCustomer Care & Logistics
STEPHEN P. GIBSONFinance & Operations
SCOTT GILLESPIEArc
KRISTINE CORATTI KELLYCommunications & Events
JOHN B. KENNEDYGeneral Counsel & Labor
MIKI TOLIVER KINGMarketing
SHAILOSH PRAKASHDigital Product Development & Engineering
JOE ROBINSClient Solutions

The Washington Post
1301 K St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20071 (202) 334-6000

CATHERINE RAMPPELL

Americans need economic relief now

Let it get lost in the ballot-counting frenzy: The house is still very much on fire. And regardless of who ultimately controls the White House and Congress next year, those *currently in office* have a duty to put the fire out.

Now. Not in three months. Now. For months, even before mail-in vote tallies dominated news coverage, pundits speculated about who would be the next leader of the free world. Meanwhile, millions of Americans agonized over a more fundamental question: whether they would have enough money to pay their rent or put food on the table.

As the Labor Department reported on Thursday, nearly 22 million Americans are still applying for unemployment. That is crisis-level joblessness. What's more, the two remaining programs expanding federal unemployment benefits are set to expire around Christmas. (A third program, which supplemented state-level benefits by \$600 a week, expired in July.) Already, some Americans have exhausted all the benefits that these remaining programs have to offer because of how long such unlucky people have been out of work, according to National Employment Law Project senior policy analyst Michele Evermore.

True, the country has added back a lot of jobs. But the pace of rehiring has already slowed dramatically, and is not nearly robust enough to help these Americans pay their bills without federal help. Forecasts for the next jobs report, due out Friday, predict that growth slowed to about 500,000 to 600,000 jobs in October — down from 661,000 in September and millions during the summer months.

In normal times, of course, adding 500,000 jobs in a single month would be something to celebrate. But these aren't normal times. The economy remains more than 10 million jobs in the hole. If a similar pace of hiring continues, it will be nearly two more years before the country recovers all the jobs lost since February.

And there are reasons to worry that the pace might not hold steady but, instead, decelerate in the months ahead.

First, a smaller share of laid-off workers say they expect to be recalled by their old jobs; the fraction of unemployed people saying they're on "temporary" rather than "permanent" layoff has fallen from about 80 percent in April to about 40 percent in September, according to an analysis from Brookings Institution researchers Stephanie Aaronson and Wendy Edelberg. Workers on permanent layoff are less likely to find new employment quickly and more likely to drop out of the labor force altogether.

Second, the recent rise in coronavirus infection rates and the falling temperatures suggest that industries that have suffered the most job losses — such as travel or leisure and hospitality — may be in for a long, hard winter. Small-business activity has already flattened, according to data from Homebase.

Finally, with in-person schooling and other child-care options still shuttered, lots of workers — disproportionately women — won't be able to return to work even if they can find job offers.

Already the magnitude of the suffering is enormous.

Roughly 11 percent of adults say their households sometimes or often didn't have enough food to eat in the previous seven days, according to the Census Bureau's most recent Household Pulse Survey. Large fractions also report imminent threats of eviction or foreclosure, despite Band-Aid measures intended to stave off such displacement.

Distraacted by the Supreme Court hearings, political campaigns, ballot-counting and concomitant gyrations in the stock market, many in the media have done a lousy job of training attention on persistent economic pain and sitting politicians' indifference to it.

The Democratic-controlled House passed another round of fiscal relief back in May that included support for unemployed workers, small businesses, schools, and state and local governments. The GOP-controlled Senate refused to even give it a vote. The House passed a revised version last month, but Senate Republicans and the White House have alternately stood in the way. News reports on these negotiations were dwarfed by election coverage.

The day after Election Day, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) unexpectedly announced that another "rescue package" would be on the agenda when the chamber reconvenes next week. This sounds like good news — except that some Trump economic advisers have predicted that the president will take his ball and go home during his remaining time in office if he is not reelected.

The imbalance in media coverage has essentially given President Trump, and his Republican allies, a pass for such tantrums and inaction. Already, some pundits are pontificating about whether Trump will run again in 2024, rather than whether he will fulfill the obligations of his office while we know he still has them.

Needless to say — though apparently it still needs saying — the point of running for office isn't just to win; it's to govern.

crampell@washpost.com



MICHAEL ROBINSON CHAVEZ/THE WASHINGTON POST

Trump supporters line Calle Ocho in Miami's Little Havana neighborhood to celebrate on Tuesday.

LIZETTE ALVAREZ

Trump's gains with Fla. Latinos were hiding in plain sight

One of Tuesday night's biggest surprises was the GOP's performance in Florida. Pre-election polling here had consistently put Joe Biden ahead of President Trump. And in a state with a large Latino electorate, Trump's nativist bombast was supposed to prove toxic.

Except Trump defeated Biden in Florida — more than doubling his 2016 margin of victory. His triumph wasn't sabotaged by Florida Latinos but instead powered by them. His biggest coup was in solidly Democratic, and Hispanic-heavy, Miami-Dade County, which ultimately favored Biden by only seven points — compared with Hillary Clinton's 2016 margin of 30.

These events have left the professional political class searching for answers — about what happened and what it means for the future. But for anyone looking hard enough, the signs have been everywhere.

In Miami-Dade, they flapped from boats and bikes, were plastered across yards and walls, and stuck to cars and motorcycles — evidence of Trump's courtship of Cuban Americans, a crucial Republican voting bloc. In 2016, Trump scarcely won Hialeah, which is dominated by Cuban Americans; this year, he earned about two-thirds of the vote there. He also captured 30 percent of the statewide votes of Puerto Ricans, the second-largest group of Latinos in Florida, and 48 percent of the ballots of "other Latinos," the catchall label for Nicaraguans, Venezuelans, Colombians and the rest of the state's Latin American voters, according to exit polls.

Trump's playbook for success is no secret. He's worked South Florida's Latino vote hard the past four years. He knows many Miami-based Latinos — Cubans, but also Nicaraguans and Venezuelans — were forced out of their home countries by leftist dictators. So he trumpeted the message

that a vote for Biden was a vote for the hardcore, liberty-stealing, privacy-filching socialism they had fled. Trump also talked tough on Nicolás Maduro, the leftist president of Venezuela who has plunged the country into chaos.

Ever the showman, Trump knew how to exploit mass media and events. Disinformation was jackhammered into Latinos through YouTube videos and Facebook posts, which were shared widely and then repeated incessantly on old-school Spanish-language radio. Conspiracy theories proliferated on WhatsApp chats, popular among Latinos here, and were hard to combat because WhatsApp messages are encrypted. Trump also held dozens of rallies and frequently mentioned Cuban Americans in speeches and interviews. I saw evidence of his ground game when I walked my dogs the other day and found a faux Trump \$100 bill with his face on it on my street.

For their part, Democrats have only themselves to blame. Instead of fighting back, Biden stayed largely invisible and silent, missing opportunities to build common ground with Latinos here. He's a family man and a moderate. Cuban Americans love Obamacare and Medicare. Democrats want to give Venezuelans who live here a chance to stay until conditions in Venezuela change. They also want to make legal immigration easier. Yet none of this was effectively communicated to Florida voters.

By the time Biden stepped up, holding higher-profile events and dispatching powerful surrogates such as Barack Obama, it was too late. Not even Mike Bloomberg's last-ditch \$100 million ad blitz was enough to stop the Latino tide sweeping toward Trump. Democratic outreach here came too little, too late — as it has most election cycles.

This complacency "has come at an extraordinary cost," Fernand Amandi, a Democratic strategist who suc-

cessfully helped shape Hispanic outreach for Obama's reelection and has been warning Democrats to pay more attention to Florida Latinos, told me. Democrats' failure to aggressively refute Trump's portrayal of them as socialists and communists, Amandi added, "borders on political malpractice."

Biden wasn't the only Democrat who suffered. On election night, the GOP Latino wave helped flip two House seats, surprising Democrats. Rep. Donna Shalala, former president of the University of Miami and secretary of health and human services under President Bill Clinton, campaigned as if her reelection were a slam dunk. She lost to Maria Elvira Salazar, a former Spanish-language television journalist who knew how to tap into Latino sentiment while also moderating her stance on Obamacare.

The other defeat belonged to Rep. Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, who swiped her swing seat from a Republican in 2018. Despite spending heavily, she lost to Miami-Dade County Mayor Carlos Gimenez, a formidable opponent because of his name recognition and long tenure in office.

Those wins — plus recent political history — suggest Democrats' troubles are not limited to Trump and will endure beyond 2020. Other Republicans, including Gov. Ron DeSantis and Sen. Rick Scott, have also aggressively tended to the Latino vote here. Their victories two years ago, when Democrats recaptured the House, should have been a clear harbinger of things to come.

Democrats now have another two years to woo Floridians and turn Miami-Dade back from purple to blue. They should start by learning the lesson of this election: They take Florida's Latinos for granted at their own peril.

Lizette Alvarez, a Post contributing columnist, lives in Miami.

JOSH ROGIN

A shift in the politics of foreign policy

Although the presidential election hasn't yet been settled, the results so far have clarified at least one thing: The trajectory of U.S. foreign policy is likely to take two starkly divergent paths, neither of which was the conventional wisdom just a few days ago. One would lead to a return to a relatively bipartisan, internationalist U.S. approach to the world. The other is "America First" on steroids.

What's clear already is that predictions of a landslide victory by the Democrats, including a Democratic takeover of the Senate, were wrong. If Joe Biden ends up winning the presidency, he will most likely face a Republican-led Senate and a weakened Democratic majority in the House. This will require him to seek help from Republican lawmakers with common interests to assemble his administration and advance his agenda. Foreign policy is the best opportunity for a Biden administration to succeed in getting some Republicans on board.

This could mean a quick return to irrelevance for the progressive wing of Biden's own party, which was betting on Democrats being so powerful that post-election negotiations over policy and personnel would occur between the two sides of their own caucus. Just before the election, progressive foreign policy officials in Congress were publicly airing their plans to bargain for Cabinet positions and agenda items. The vote has changed all of that.

Now, even if Biden does win, he will likely need Republican Senate votes just to confirm his team. Biden officials have consistently said they want to work with centrist Republicans who share their overall national security vision. But will a GOP that finds itself back in opposition want to play along?

"It's really up to the Republicans," said Rep. Tom Malinowski (D-N.J.), a former State Department official who just won his first reelection. "There are plenty of Democrats including Joe Biden who want to forge that common ground. So the question is, will the Republicans who actually claim to agree with those principles, who think the McCain-Romney vision for foreign policy is the right one, help Biden where that vision overlaps with his? He is going to need that help."

Several GOP foreign policy operatives told me that, if Biden is elected and Republicans retain control of the Senate, GOP leaders anticipate having significant leverage, especially regarding senior-level appointments. The idea is not to thwart all potential Biden nominees, but to pressure a Biden administration to avoid far-left progressives and former Obama administration officials the Fox News crowd already dislikes.

Take the position of secretary of state, for one example. The shortlist has included Sen. Chris Murphy (D-Conn.), former national security adviser Susan E. Rice, Sen. Christopher A. Coons (D-Del.) and former deputy secretary of state Antony Blinken.

Progressives favor Murphy, and Rice has been a political target of conservatives since the 2012 Benghazi attacks. Rice threatened to run against Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine) and raised money for Collins's opponent — but now Collins has won reelection. Right or wrong, there's no way that GOP senators would accept Murphy or Rice. Coons and Blinken, considered centrists, are well known and widely accepted among the GOP establishment.

Several GOP senators, including Tom Cotton (Ark.), Marco Rubio (Fla.) and Josh Hawley (Mo.), are eyeing a run for president in 2024, making any cooperation with a Biden administration politically complicated. But the idea that the GOP can follow Trump's foreign policy and still claim the legacy of Ronald Reagan becomes untenable if Trump loses. And don't underestimate the willingness of some Republicans to work with Biden for the purpose of pushing back against the populists and isolationists on the left and right, their common enemies.

Some Democratic lawmakers say Biden's foreign policy was always closer to the traditional GOP approach of alliances, free trade, overt support for American values abroad and robust U.S. engagement on several continents. If Trump somehow manages to squeeze out a reelection victory, they say, it will be a doomsday scenario for internationalists in both parties.

If Trump wins, expect him to purge all GOP officials who restrained his foreign policy instincts during his first term. Trump administration officials confirmed to me that an emboldened White House would likely ask almost all political appointees to resign immediately. Trump would then replace them with hardcore political loyalists, snubbing career Republican professionals who might try to thwart his MAGA agenda. On foreign policy, that could mean drastic withdrawals of U.S. troops from Europe, South Korea, Iraq and Afghanistan and the further dismantling of the national security bureaucracy many GOP leaders have long supported.

"Lindsey Graham is going to find a lot more to like in a Joe Biden presidency than a Trump-John Ratcliffe-Lou Dobbs second term," Malinowski said, referring to the newly reelected South Carolina Republican senator.

A Biden administration could be the last chance to return to a bipartisan, internationalist foreign policy that moderate Republicans and Democrats have long championed and that has provided 75 years of relative international peace and prosperity. But first, Biden has to win, and some Republicans have to put country over party.

josh.rogin@washpost.com

DAVID IGNATIUS

We're still divided, but there's hope

The one indisputable fact about Election 2020 is that America remains a divided country. President Trump has lost the popular vote and appears close to losing the electoral college as well. But Republicans have the upper hand in retaining control of the Senate.

Americans want health and economic recovery — but exit polls show a sharp split about which comes first. Encouragingly, the band of "purple" states, between red and blue, seems to be widening.

Rather than arguing with this mixed message, we should think about what it means for the country: A majority of Americans are fed up with this president, but a substantial minority mistrust what they see as a liberal elite that ignores or disdains their views. "Trumpism" may continue without Trump in the White House. But this should pose a political challenge for Democrats, not an existential threat.

"Don't fight the problem," famously observed Gen. George C. Marshall, the Army chief of staff during World War II and later secretary of state. Meaning, in this case, if Joe Biden is elected, he shouldn't try to govern over the heads of people who voted for Trump, or behind their backs — but through them, with policies that will make "unity" more than just a slogan. To quote Jamie Gorelick, a Democratic lawyer and former deputy attorney general, "Just telling people that they are wrong does not work."

It's mildly reassuring to look at what hasn't happened so far. Polling places didn't see significant violence or armed intimidation; foreign adversaries didn't

achieve successful cyberattacks on our voting machinery. Trump, for all his fulminations about election fraud, looks more like a deflated balloon than an authoritarian preparing to seize power. As always, he's surrounded by lawyers bargaining for the last percentage point — but frankly, that hyper-litigious approach never worked very well for Trump in business. And judges don't like being jammed.

Still, as the days pass without a result, it's scary to see militant demonstrators gathering around ballot-counting sites. But hopefully this won't become a wildfire of intimidation and violence. Proponents of law and order need to mean it.

Will Republicans be able to rebuild their ruined party if Trump no longer commands the White House? For Senate Republicans, the departure of the orange fireball would offer an opportunity for what many have claimed privately they've wanted — to be more faithful to their values and less afraid of retribution. Will that happen? For this generation of Republicans, running scared has become a way of life. But maybe some GOP senators will find a backbone under the Christmas tree. It would take only a few.

Divided government would probably push Biden to govern more from the center, where he seems most comfortable. That's a mixed blessing: The country needs bipartisan solutions, but it also needs economic change — making health care available to all, for example, and distributing the rewards of future prosperity more fairly. The center should be a locus for action, not paralysis.

Because the executive branch con-

trols foreign policy, a Biden win would help repair U.S. alliances and revive the independence and self-confidence of our intelligence agencies. Trump's reported plan to purge those he viewed as disloyal — FBI Director Christopher A. Wray, Defense Secretary Mark T. Esper, perhaps CIA Director Gina Haspel — marks a dark path ahead if he wins.

One symbol of American continuity and stability is the U.S. military. Gen. Mark A. Milley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has kept the armed forces independent of politics since June, when he unfortunately accompanied Trump across Lafayette Square in uniform. Milley regularly reminds himself and his troops that their oath is to the Constitution, not a president. A Pentagon transition team is ready to begin meeting with Biden's team, if an election victory is certified.

Whatever the final results, we won't be able to blame the outcome on Russia this year. "It seemed to be quiet this week on the election-security front," said Christopher C. Krebs, head of the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, which coordinated efforts by the FBI, Cyber Command and the 50 state governments. Kudos to our cyber-protection team.

After something terrible nearly happens — a bout with cancer, a car crash averted at the last minute — it's good to take a deep breath and say a prayer of thanks. Four more years of President Trump would be a terrible event for the United States. But even the deepest wounds can begin to heal if we have an empathetic leader who doesn't rip at the scabs.

Twitter: @IgnatiusPost



**A NOURISHING PLATE OF FOOD IN A TIME
OF CRISIS IS MORE THAN JUST A MEAL:

IT’S A SIGN OF HOPE, DIGNITY AND THAT
SOMEONE CARES.**

Help World Central Kitchen mobilize with the urgency of now to get fresh meals to people who need them most.

To donate to World Central Kitchen’s covid-19 relief efforts, visit wck.org/washpo

Checks can be made payable to “World Central Kitchen” and mailed to World Central Kitchen, Attn: Development, Helping Hand, 1342 Florida Ave NW Washington, DC 20009.



In response to the covid-19 crisis, The Washington Post has launched a national Helping Hand campaign to help provide food for at-risk groups and medical professionals. Partners include: Feeding America, No Kid Hungry, Meals on Wheels America and World Central Kitchen.

www.posthelpinghand.com
@PostHelpingHand

The Washington Post

ELECTION 2020

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 2020 · SPECIAL SECTION · A19

EZ SU



BONNIE JO MOUNT/THE WASHINGTON POST

With 270 votes in reach, all eyes on the count

Demonstrators massed outside vote-counting centers around the country Thursday as elections officials continued tallying ballots in several states deemed too close to call. Among those states was Pennsylvania, where a crowd waited near a Philadelphia convention center, above. Nevada, too, had yet to finish its count, and protesters like the Trump supporter below gathered outside the Clark County Election Department. Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden appeared to close in on an electoral college victory, while President Trump attempted to mount legal challenges.

Local celebrities The spotlight falls on election officials. A23	Robin Givhan Jill Biden is a partner, not a stage prop. A25	Party infighting Centrist Democrats lash out leftward. A26	Senate runoffs Two races in Georgia head to overtime. A26	Legal challenges Trump loyalists lead GOP's efforts. A27
---	--	---	--	---



JOHN LOCHER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ELECTION 2020

Biden sees gains as vote counting continues in key states

ELECTION FROM A1

the states too close to call have election systems overseen by Democrats (they don't), that votes are still being cast (they are not), and that he won Michigan and Wisconsin (he did not).

As Trump spoke, Biden remained in the lead with 253 electoral votes to the president's 214 — and enjoyed a number of pathways toward winning the 270 needed to secure the presidency. The former vice president maintained his leads in Arizona and Nevada, while Trump's advantages were diminishing in both Georgia and Pennsylvania. By midnight, Trump's lead in Georgia was down to about 1,800 votes.

In Pennsylvania, the biggest electoral prize and a state that would give Biden enough electoral college votes to be declared the winner, Trump's lead had shrunk to less than 23,000 by midnight. Secretary of State Kathy Boockvar (D) said earlier in the day that almost all votes would be tallied by Friday.

With tension high in states that remained too close to call, weary election officials continued tallying results Thursday, at times with police protecting them from protesters as the presidency hung in the balance of final tabulations.

Biden's campaign has expressed increasing optimism that a victory was imminent, creating a website to promote the work of his transition team. Biden and his running mate, Sen. Kamala D. Harris (D-Calif.), on Thursday held a briefing at a theater in Wilmington, Del., with a team of health and economic advisers to discuss the ongoing coronavirus crisis.

It was a visible sign of what his campaign hoped to project: Biden soberly preparing to transition into the White House. Trump, before his remarks Thursday, had not been seen in public since the early morning hours of Wednesday, when he gathered with supporters at the White House and declared he had won.

"Democracy is sometimes messy. Sometimes it requires a little patience, as well," Biden said Thursday afternoon following his briefing.

"We continue to feel very good about where things stand. And we have no doubt that when the count is finished, Senator Harris and I will be declared the winners," he added. "So I ask everyone to stay calm — all people to stay calm. The process is working. The count is being completed. And we'll know very soon."

Biden campaign manager Jen O'Malley Dillon displayed several slides to reporters earlier in the day, demonstrating how they think Biden will win at least three of the remaining five most competitive states. She said their calculations showed Biden's lead might narrow in Arizona and Nevada, particularly as results from more pro-Trump rural areas are counted, but they remained confident that returns from urban strongholds would help protect their lead.

"We don't really care which state takes us over the top. We just want to keep going and make sure the counts get done," O'Malley Dillon said. "We know that it's going to take a little bit of time and we support that, and we're just going to stay calm and be patient."

Biden and other Democrats got a bit of good news Thursday, as Sen. David Perdue (R-Ga.) fell below the 50 percent mark in his bid for reelection. If that holds once counting is completed, it would trigger a runoff in January. A second Georgia Senate race is already expected to lead to a runoff.

Democrats lost multiple Senate races on Tuesday, and their chances of drawing a 50-50 split in the Senate would rest on winning both of those races.

The legal wrangling also continued on Thursday, with Trump's campaign attempting to sow doubt in the election count in a way that could both seek to change the results as well as produce an explanation for a loss.

Biden campaign attorney Bob Bauer accused Trump's campaign of engaging in "meritless" lawsuits meant to misinform the public and disrupt the vote count.

"This is part of a broader misinformation campaign that involves some political theater," he said, adding that the Trump camp has provided no evidence of wrongdoing.

"All of this is intended to create a large cloud that, it is the hope of the Trump campaign, that nobody can see through," he added. "But it is not a very thick cloud. It's not hard to see what they're doing. We see through it. So will



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump, seen after speaking at the White House on Thursday night, again promoted unfounded allegations about voter fraud in a number of states.

“If you count the legal votes, I easily win. If you count the illegal votes, they can try to steal the election from us.”

President Trump

“Democracy is sometimes messy. Sometimes it requires a little patience, as well.”

Former vice president Joe Biden



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Former vice president Joe Biden arrives for a briefing on the pandemic with health and economic advisers in Wilmington, Del.

the courts, and so do election officials.”

Offering no specific evidence, several Trump allies have claimed that voter irregularities have impacted the tally in states including Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Georgia and Nevada. The campaign has filed lawsuits in several of those states attempting to halt or alter the vote-counting process.

“These magical sacks of ballots that keep popping up in corrupt and crooked localities that are run by partisan Democrats — we’re going to have eyes on them,” Trump campaign senior adviser Jason Miller told reporters Thursday, making broad accusations with no specific evidence. “And we’re going to make sure they’re not able to pull a fast one on the American people.”

The campaign touted a legal ruling in Pennsylvania that allowed Republican operatives to get a closer look at the ballot-counting process. A judge in Georgia dismissed a separate lawsuit filed by the Trump campaign on Thursday. The lawsuit alleged voter fraud in a few dozen ballots but lacked evidence.

For his part, Trump for a second straight day tweeted his displeasure from the White House.

“STOP THE FRAUD,” he tweeted Thursday afternoon, providing no specifics in a comment deemed by Twitter as misleading. Hours earlier he tweeted “STOP THE COUNT.”

Trump and his allies took issue with the counting of mail-in ballots after Election Day, claiming that the standard process of tallying those votes was a sign of voter fraud.

“ANY VOTE THAT CAME IN AFTER ELECTION DAY WILL NOT BE COUNTED!” Trump wrote on Twitter, another tweet that the social media platform hid after determining it was false or misleading.

In reality, election officials commonly take days, if not longer, to count ballots cast by mail. This year those mail-in ballots had to be counted after Election Day in part because Republican state lawmakers in Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania blocked election officials from getting a head start on processing and sorting ballots before then. In states that allowed early processing, such as Republican-led Ohio, mail-in votes were tallied on Election Day.

The Trump campaign on Thursday did secure a ruling in Pennsylvania that allowed them access to watch votes be counted in the state, as long as the observers are six feet away and wear masks in accordance with health guidelines during the pandemic.

Several of their other lawsuits were quickly shot down by judges.

A judge in Chatham County, Ga., denied a Trump campaign suit alleging that ballots had been improperly counted because ballots that arrived after the 7 p.m. deadline may have been mixed in with eligible ballots. The judge determined that the poll watcher cited by the Trump campaign could not provide evidence for the claim.

A judge in Michigan, which was called for Biden on Wednesday, told lawyers for the Trump campaign that she would deny the campaign’s request for an

emergency halt in the counting of votes in the state.

Trump campaign advisers held a news conference in Nevada in which they made unsubstantiated claims that votes from dead people and nonresidents had been cast in large numbers. Shortly after the event, Biden’s narrow lead in Nevada widened.

By Thursday evening, after a new batch of votes was tabulated, Biden had a lead of more than 11,000. There were still tens of thousands more votes left to be counted, including about 114,000 mail ballots, 60,000 provisional ballots and 44,000 ballots that need verification in Clark County, the state’s largest county and a Democratic stronghold.

The numbers could grow further, since election officials in Nevada must count any mail ballot that was postmarked by Election Day and arrives by Nov. 10.

“Our goal here in Clark County is not to count fast. We want to make sure that we’re being accurate,” said Joe Gloria, the county’s registrar of voters, warning final counts might not be done until this weekend. “Obviously, we are going to be very important to the entire country and that is our number one goal.”

If the remaining states remain extremely tight, calling the race could be further complicated because tens of thousands of ballots were caught in U.S. Postal Service processing facilities until the day after Election Day, according to new data filed in federal court.

In Pennsylvania, 6,877 ballots were processed on Nov. 4. That number was 5,915 in North Carolina, 9,037 in Nevada and 1,706 in Georgia. Those votes — which

could count in some states but not others depending on local ballot deadlines — could loom large in tightening races.

The Postal Service processed close to 150,000 ballots nationwide on Wednesday, with a 94.5 percent on-time rate, an improvement over recent days, but still below the 97 percent that postal and voting experts expect of the agency.

But in the nine postal districts spanning five swing states yet to be decided — Arizona, Nevada, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Georgia — the ballot on-time rate was 84.6 percent. That means roughly 15 out of every 100 ballots in processing plants were not sorted — or delivered — on time.

In filing the data, Justice Department lawyers representing the Postal Service in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia cautioned that the figures were not reliable. The data does not include “first mile” and “last mile” handling steps, which could add time to delivery, and only accounts for items the agency was able to successfully identify as ballots.

The Postal Service also encouraged post offices to cull local ballots by hand and deliver them directly to vote counters, bypassing the regional facilities that account for processing scores, though the agency cannot say how widely that practice was being employed.

matt.viser@washpost.com
toluse.olorunnipa@washpost.com

Jacob Bogage, Emma Brown, Tom Hamburger and Michelle Ye Hee Lee contributed to this report.

ELECTION 2020



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Supporters of Democratic nominee Joe Biden await election results in their car at the Chase Center in Wilmington, Del., on Tuesday. Biden has gone on TV twice to express his confidence that he will prevail.

As the counting continues, America begrudgingly waits

PATIENCE FROM AI

“Count every vote,” reared back and delivered his own retort: “They’re counting, you idiots!”

“This is kind of like an acid flashback,” said Jean Elliott Brown, who should know: Twenty years ago, in South Florida, she spent day after day recounting ballots in the 2000 version of this week’s nail-biter election extension. In an elections office in West Palm Beach back then, Brown, a Democrat, sat alongside Republican observers and county employees, lifting up individual ballots to figure out whether each voter intended to choose George W. Bush or Al Gore as president.

“It was such a distressing time,” recalled Brown, now retired in New Hampshire. “There was intimidation, suppression, bullying and a challenge over nothing. It was like a rehearsal for right now.”

The waiting is worse than the wanting, some voters say. And Americans in particular are an impatient bunch, according to psychologists who study patience and self-control.

“Americans have a hard time waiting,” said Dominik Guess, a psychology professor at the University of North Florida. “Immediate gratification is an important part of our culture. Children are taught to expect things right away. And it’s especially hard to wait when something is highly important and we’ve invested our values in it.”

Guess has studied differences in patience across cultures and has found that people in highly individualistic societies such as the United States have more trouble waiting than people who grew up in collectivist cultures that put more emphasis on teaching children to wait for rewards.

Anxiety over the wait has brought hardcore partisans on both sides into the streets. In Durham, N.C., on Wednesday, about a thousand anti-Trump demonstrators accompanied by a drum corps marched to the local elections board to demand that every vote be counted.

“My people know patience,” said Rabbi Salem Pearce, executive director of Carolina Jews for Justice. “We wandered in the desert for 40 years. We can wait a few days for election results.”

But many people say they are losing sleep, unable to work or falling into stress-eating to get through to a final result.

“We have lost some of our capacity to wait,” said Sarah Schnitker, a psychologist at Baylor University who studies pa-

tience. “A lot of waiting is about expectations, and, with new technologies, our expectations have definitely changed about how much uncertainty we should have to tolerate.”

That website is supposed to load instantly. That answer should be in the first page of search results. And that election is supposed to end on Election Day.

The pandemic has left patience in even shorter supply, Schnitker said. “This whole year, our expectations have been violated. About how science works and how quickly we should be able to solve the virus. And now the election on top of that.”

Impatience, Schnitker said, can arise from interpersonal stressors, such as an annoying person at work; from life hardships, such as chronic illness or

racism; or from daily hassles, such as being stuck in traffic or waiting in a queue.

The delayed election result “is a mixture of all three categories,” she said. “It’s quite interpersonal — a lot of us have people in our lives who we argue over politics with. Political decisions are life and death to us — very basic life hardships. And this also feels like a daily hassle, waiting for the next update every hour.”

The trick to getting more comfortable with the wait is to figure out what you’re feeling, think about how other people see the same situation, and understand why you care so much about this, Schnitker said.

“Don’t just sit there and stew,” she said. “Imagine the situation in a new way. Americans can call upon our care for our country and think about how to help it

live up to our ideals. And do something that puts you in a flow state — absorbing work, a hobby, meditation, a challenging video game. Watching TV does not get you there.”

Even in an impatient culture, some people are better at waiting than others — and those who are confident that their guy is going to prevail are having a somewhat easier time of it this week. Those who have been through this before say the final result can be worth the wait.

As much as Brown shudders to recall that fall of 2000, Brad Card, who was on the other side of the Florida recount, said the seemingly never-ending Bush-Gore faceoff “made me proud to be an American.”

“We have a peaceful process where you can challenge votes, and you let the process work, and

then you have a winner,” he said. “We’re an incredibly resilient country, and I was amazed how quickly we were able to move on from that bitter and divisive process.”

Card, now a Washington lobbyist but then a Republican observer of vote recounts in Jacksonville and West Palm Beach, said he doesn’t mind waiting as long as it takes to get every vote counted this time. But he has enough PTSD from 2000 to argue that there should be some limits.

“I don’t think we should subject the country to prolonged litigation just to muck up the system,” Card said. “When the decision is final, the loser should accept it and respect it. I don’t know if President Trump would do that — I hope so — but Al Gore really set the tone, walking away and helping America heal after

being as close as you can be to the presidency.”

Biden’s lead in the last remaining battlegrounds could be large enough to avert the painstaking examination of individual ballots that dominated TV screens that November.

As the 2000 wait stretched into its fourth week, Washington Post TV critic Tom Shales wrote that it was “so horrible, so dreadful, so terrible, and yet you can’t look away. . . . It’s ‘The Florida Chain Saw Election.’” A month into the count, a CNN poll found that 62 percent of Americans agreed that the whole mess had “gone on too long.”

Richard B. Cheney, who was waiting to become either vice president or nothing, told reporters in the midst of the wait that all he did was “sit around and watch television all day.” And then he had a heart attack, his fourth, a mild one.

“Sometimes, there’s just too damn much news,” Cheney said.

The country was different in those days. Gore and Bush were able to seclude themselves at home, refraining from public comment for days on end.

Similarly, in 1960, when the presidential race between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon also turned out to be a nail-biter, Nixon decided on the morning after Election Day to quit his Los Angeles campaign headquarters and fly to Key Biscayne, Fla., leaving his allies in Washington to spend their days hollering on his behalf about election fraud while he took long walks on the beach.

Biden has gone on TV twice to express his confidence that he will prevail, and Trump has kept up a rapid-fire assault of tweets alleging fraud without evidence. In a blast email seeking donations to his legal campaign to stop vote counts in several states, Trump, who has described himself as an impatient man, said: “The Democrats are trying to STEAL the Election. We will never let them do it. They will try to drag this Election out for as long as possible.”

The candidates and their staffs at least have jobs to do while they wait. For many voters stuck at home during the pandemic, the wait feels like a wrong turn into purgatory.

“Is this what it’s like to watch/care about sports?” tweeted novelist Taffy Brodesser-Akner. “If so, why would you ever do it on purpose?”

marc.fisher@washpost.com



BROOKS KRAFT/SYGMA/GETTY IMAGES

George W. Bush takes a stroll on his Texas ranch while awaiting the results of the 2000 presidential election recount. In Florida, observers and county employees were examining individual ballots to figure out whom each voter had intended to select.

“We have lost some of our capacity to wait. A lot of waiting is about expectations, and, with new technologies, our expectations have definitely changed about how much uncertainty we should have to tolerate.”

Sarah Schnitker, psychologist at Baylor University who studies patience

Shayna Jacobs in New York and Barry Yeoman in Durham, N.C. contributed to this report.

Trump turns angry and defiant as possible defeat looms

ashley.parker@washpost.com
josh.dawsey@washpost.com

The Washington Post | LIVE

POST LIVE
ELECTION DAILY



Friday, Nov. 6 at 1:00 p.m.



Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms
Atlanta, Ga.



Matt Schlapp
Chairman of the American Conservative Union



Andrew Yang
Former Democratic Presidential Candidate

PRESENTING SPONSOR **BANK OF AMERICA** 

FIRST LOOK at 9:00 a.m. ET

Washington Post Live's "First Look" offers a smart breakdown of the day's politics. Jonathan Capehart speaks with chief political correspondent Dan Balz about up-to-the-minute news updates, followed by a lively roundtable with Washington Post opinions columnists where they will discuss the hot-button issues that have animated this historic election season.

To receive a live stream reminder for Election Daily events, visit: **wapo.st/dailyelectionshow**

✿ ELECTION 2020

Trump allies tap Facebook to rally against vote-counting

BY TONY ROMM
AND ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER

President Trump's allies have turned to Facebook and other social media sites in an effort to spark nationwide protests against the 2020 election, thrusting some of Silicon Valley's most powerful organizing tools into a contest over the legitimacy of American democracy.

The campaign and its aides have relied on a network of new and existing Facebook pages, groups and events — some of which have garnered hundreds of thousands of members — to rally people in public this week around a baseless conspiracy theory that Democratic candidate Joe Biden is attempting to “steal” the election. Some of the efforts promoted in places such as Pennsylvania and Arizona specifically target vote-counting centers, threatening disruptions while ballot tallying is still underway.

The online efforts have unfolded not on the Republican Party's fringes but well within its mainstream. Among the most vocal leaders is Amy Kremer, a former congressional candidate in Georgia and a co-founder and co-chair of Women for Trump. She used a Facebook page called Women for America First, which boasts more than 100,000 followers, to drive users to a newly launched Facebook group called “STOP THE STEAL,” which garnered more than 360,000 members before Facebook removed it midday Thursday for violating the platform's rules.

“We need boots on the ground to protect the integrity of the vote,” the Facebook page said before it disappeared from view, encouraging people to donate to help pay for “flights and hotels to send people” to battleground states including Georgia, North Carolina and Pennsylvania. The “STOP THE STEAL” group also had been listed as a co-host on 12 Facebook protest events, including a new car “caravan” planned in California.

Though some of the events say the goal is to be peaceful, some of the commentary that spilled forth in the “STOP THE STEAL” group veered into planning for armed conflict. “We are on the verge of civil war due to those types of people,” one user wrote. “You cannot reason with them or convince them to stop and reunite as they are dead set on total destruction of our nation. So I ask you, what are you prepared to do?”

Another asked, “how do we go



SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES

Trump supporters have turned to social media to organize demonstrations against vote-counting, such as this one in Pennsylvania.

about overthrowing the government?” Hundreds of users replied, with one proclaiming, “Civil war!”

The anti-democratic resentment ultimately resulted in disciplinary action from Facebook, where spokesman Andy Stone pointed to the “exceptional measures that we are taking during this period of heightened tension.” Anticipating a crackdown, some of the group's members preemptively shifted their discussions to MeWe, a messaging app favored by armed groups that previously had been banned by Facebook.

“The group was organized around the delegitimization of the election process, and we saw worrying calls for violence from some members of the group,” Stone said in a statement.

The effort uses the same mantra, “stop the steal,” employed by Roger Stone for a political action committee he led in 2016. Stone, a self-described “dirty trickster” whose prison sentence Trump commuted this summer, was recently kicked off Facebook after the company said he was tied to a network of

fake accounts.

Chris Barron, a spokesman for Kremer, denounced Facebook, saying the group's swelling membership “spoke volumes about how concerned people are.” Other administrators of the group included a conservative activist who identifies herself on Facebook as the communications director for We Build the Wall, the nonprofit organization that raised more than \$25 million for the purported aim of erecting a barrier along the Mexican border.

Associated websites were soliciting donations and contact information. Domain records showed at least one such site, created Wednesday, was registered by Scott Graves, who runs a California-based digital agency. He did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

The protests that have occurred nationwide have attracted vocal yet mostly orderly crowds of angry Trump supporters, though at times their presence has stoked tensions. Armed protesters appeared on Wednesday evening at a ballot-counting center in Maricopa County, one

of the places in Arizona giving Biden an edge, demanding a halt to their work in response to a widely disproved social media hoax about magic markers and discarded ballots.

The dilemma is especially acute for Facebook at a moment when the election remains undecided. The social media site is one of the most potent tools for people hoping to organize and exercise their rights to protest worldwide. But that power has been put to use in more controversial ways since polls closed Tuesday, allowing Trump, his family members and a network of well-funded conservative groups to sow disinformation and potentially undermine Americans' faith in the electoral process.

After years of resistance, Facebook has more aggressively sought to police problematic posts, photos and videos across its services, aiming to prevent misinformation from marring the 2020 presidential race as it did four years ago. But Facebook at times has been slow to act, taking about 12 hours in one instance to remove a Facebook

page called “Stand up Michigan” that appeared after a group operated by the same users had been banned because of what the platform said was the risk of “offline harm” involved in its calls to swarm a Detroit tabulation center. “They can remove our content but will never silence our VOICES!” the page proclaimed before it was booted about noon Thursday.

The same tabulation center was targeted in additional posts alleging attempted theft, including in a Facebook group counting among its administrators Meshawn Maddock, a district GOP chairwoman in Michigan who helped organize protests against stay-at-home orders earlier this year. Maddock did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

The proliferation of protests decrying alleged fraud represent a show of force by pro-Trump media, which worked in tandem with conservative advocacy groups to spread word of the street actions. Donald Trump Jr., the president's son, shared details about a Pennsylvania protest where an organiz-

er told prospective participants to “be prepared to stay for as long as possible.” The Gateway Pundit website provided a calendar of scheduled rallies. The website for the “War Room: Pandemic” podcast run by Stephen K. Bannon, Trump's former 2016 campaign manager, speculated about whether it was “Game-on for the Coup?” and told visitors, “The Fight is Now,” as it provided a link to protests organized by FreedomWorks.

The Tea Party Patriots shared details about those FreedomWorks-backed protests and other efforts with its 1.3 million Facebook followers late Wednesday. “Arizona, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Georgia hang in the balance and with them, the Presidency,” the Tea Party Patriots wrote. “Our future depends on the American people rallying to Protect the Vote and Stop the Steal!”

Peter Vicenzi, a spokesman for FreedomWorks, defended conservatives' efforts Thursday. “Any implication that these demonstrations aren't a legitimate activity is offensive, since this is their civic duty to ensure that we have a free and fair election,” he said in a statement.

Protests in particular long have vexed Facebook. Russian agents who weaponized the site in the 2016 race relied on Facebook events to stir up real-world tensions. The coronavirus pandemic exposed these vulnerabilities again, after conservative organizers — some with ties to Trump and his campaign — tapped the platform in an attempt to rally people against state public health restrictions. Facebook ultimately ended up incubating some of the tensest demonstrations across the country, including in Michigan, later resulting in the arrest of three individuals who targeted the state's Democratic governor, Gretchen Whitmer.

A.J. Bauer, a visiting assistant professor in New York University's department of media, culture and communication, said some of the protest activity on Facebook does not reflect an organic groundswell of support but the work of a “tightly networked set of Trump-orbit” influencers, including on the photo-sharing app Instagram, which Facebook also owns.

“They need something to queue up their relevance in the event Trump loses,” Bauer said, “and they're leaning into grievances about the election being stolen.”

tony.romm@washpost.com
isaac.stanley-becker@washpost.com

As vote counts drag on, local election officials become unwitting celebrities

News briefings catapult some to the limelight, but they're too busy to care

BY TRAVIS M. ANDREWS
AND ASHLEY FETTERS

Joe Gloria was just doing his job.

The Clark County, Nev., registrar of voters isn't usually in the national spotlight, but Gloria found himself standing in front of a cluster of microphones outside the Clark County Election Center on Wednesday with a plethora of cameras pointed at him.

“As I mentioned, we are not prepared to . . .” he began, before he was quickly interrupted by a man sporting a David Spade haircut, camouflage cargo shorts and a sleeveless white tank top with red and blue words: “BBQ *** BEER *** FREEDOM.”

Oh, and the guy was furious.

“The Biden crime family is stealing this election. The media is covering it up,” the man shouted repeatedly, his mask slipping off his face and becoming a chin strap.

Gloria calmly watched the rant, until the man got tired and walked away. The registrar then turned back to the gathered reporters. “Where were we?” he said. “What was the last question?”

A clip of the incident has now been viewed more than 12 million times on Twitter. It feels so ridiculous, so surreal, that it's almost amusing. Almost. For Gloria, a public servant, it's probably closer to frightening.

“I can tell you that my wife and my mother are very concerned for me, but we have security here, we have law enforcement who



ETHAN MILLER/GETTY IMAGES

Joe Gloria, registrar of voters in Nevada's Clark County, discusses ballot counting at a news conference Thursday. The day before, his briefing was interrupted by a man angrily shouting about Joe Biden.

are protecting us. I am concerned for the safety of my staff,” he said at a news conference the next day.

Gloria is one of the many state and local officials who have become unwitting minor celebrities as America keeps its eyes pinned to cable news while the final few swing states continue counting votes. It's not every day that Arizona's secretary of state or Pennsylvania's lieutenant governor approaches household-name status. How many people knew Georgia had a “voting system implementation manager”? (It does, and his name is Gabriel Sterling.) Wisconsin Elections

Commission Director Meagan Wolfe probably never thought she'd be so in-demand *and so busy* that she'd have to turn down requests from “every major broadcast and cable network,” as her spokeswoman put it.

This week, these officials are tougher to reach than Beyoncé. Unlike Beyoncé, though, none of them appear particularly interested in the fame, if they're even cognizant of it.

Lt. Gov. John Fetterman of Pennsylvania, for example, has become a minor Twitter phenomenon over the last few days, thanks in part to his imposing stature, bald head and hyper-vis-

ible role in keeping the public updated on the Pennsylvania recount. As writer Brian Grubb tweeted, the “silver lining of this election is the rest of the country learning that Pennsylvania has a tatted-up 6'8” lt. governor who supports recreational marijuana and prison reform and lives in a converted car dealership and looks kind of like if the undertaker had a poli sci degree.” Another Twitter user compared Fetterman to a retired star CIA agent from an action movie.

Fetterman himself, though, has been somewhat shielded from his own stardom. “I want to ignore Twitter,” he told The

Washington Post, given that the platform is where much of America is expressing anxiety over the wait for election results.

Of course, Fetterman has also been busy communicating via other forms of media. “I was on CNN twice this morning, and MSNBC, and I'm booked for NBC at 5, and then possibly another thing this evening,” he said Thursday afternoon.

After the election, Fetterman doesn't have any plans to relax: He said he'll go right back to working on curbing the spread of the coronavirus in Pennsylvania. He does, however, look forward to being recognized more often on the street as himself. It'll be nice, he said, “for anyone to stop me for a reason other than I look like a washed-up former professional wrestler.”

Of course, such unexpected fame can serve as a springboard to bigger and better things. Florida Secretary of State Katherine Harris became a national figure in 2000, when she became embroiled in the presidential recount fight, and eventually certified President George W. Bush's victory over Al Gore by a mere 537 votes. That sudden prominence helped her get elected to the House of Representatives just two years later.

This year, as the pandemic prompted mail-in ballots and a longer counting period, the camera is finding election officials in a variety of states.

Turn on the TV on Thursday and there's Pennsylvania Secretary of State Kathy Boockvar on Fox Business telling us the state will continue accepting military and overseas ballots through next Tuesday. There's Arizona Secretary of State Katie Hobbs on CBS outlining how many votes her state has left to count. There's Philadelphia City Commissioner Lisa Deeley on Sky

News, taking questions from reporters.

During one news conference, Sterling in Georgia was up to his nose in microphones as reporters shouted questions about how the state can ensure an accurate count.

Fame is a strange beast in the Internet Age, especially for those who never asked for it. No one signs up to be a civil servant in hopes of trending on Twitter, after all. Gloria, Wolfe and everyone else just want to get the job done.

Consider the scene Wednesday in Luzerne County, Pa., where about 54 workers toiled away in a third-floor courtroom at Penn Place in downtown Wilkes-Barre, hoping to finish counting some 30,000 outstanding mail-in ballots that night.

“I want to get as much done today as I possibly can,” said C. David Pedri, the county manager, as he oversaw the counting activity. “I know the world is watching us.”

Or in Atlanta, where Richard Barron, the head of the Fulton County election office, announced Thursday that his staff was just about done counting votes after two sleepless nights and a deluge of international media attention. Workers simply exchanged relieved looks — and then burst into applause.

This sentiment stood out, more so than any desire for 15 minutes of fame.

“We're going to continue to count,” Gloria said on Thursday. “We will not allow anyone to stop us from doing what our duty is and counting ballots.”

travis.andrews@washpost.com
ashley.fetters@washpost.com

Michelle Ye Hee Lee in Washington, Kellie Gormley in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and Reis Thebault in Atlanta contributed reporting.

✿ ELECTION 2020



Protesters gather outside the TCF Center in Detroit on Thursday as votes are counted. Joe Biden held on to a narrow lead in Michigan, despite averages of polls initially showing him several points ahead.

Results call into question reliance on polling in future races

POLLING FROM A1

misses Thursday in an address from the White House, where he cherry-picked polls that proved wrong, including one of Wisconsin voters in October by The Washington Post and ABC News, to argue falsely that the surveys reflected an organized effort to discourage his voters with misinformation.

New technologies, growing political polarization and candidates with devoted followings like Trump have at the same time presented challenges to uncovering what is happening and, therefore, make it more perilous to pretend as if anyone does. The errors affect public perceptions of the campaign, media coverage, campaign tactics and even fundraising efforts.

The Biden campaign appeared to place big bets late in the campaign in the hopes that the public polling would be right, expanding its television buy to states Trump would win easily. In the final week, Biden made appearances in Ohio, where he stands eight points behind with 93 percent of votes counted, and Iowa, where he lost by eight points with 92 percent of votes counted.

“We were operating in a reality that wasn’t reality, and we were operating off numbers that just were clearly not reflecting what turnout would be,” said one Democratic consultant, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to speak frankly. The Biden campaign officials have maintained that their internal polling proved more accurate than the public numbers.

Although the degree of polling misses is not yet clear as states continue to count mail-in ballots, a review of polling in 10 key states with more than 85 percent of the vote counted finds that public polls underestimated Trump’s vote margin by about 4.5 percentage points on average, similar to the size of errors in key states four years ago.

Polling problems were again concentrated in the Upper Midwest, with averages of polls in Wisconsin and Michigan showing Biden with leads of seven to eight percentage points before Biden eked out one- and three-point victories, respectively. Pennsylvania remains a close race, though Biden is likely to fall short of his five-point advantage in pre-election polls.

Polls told a more accurate story in other key states, showing close races in both Arizona and Georgia, which appear to have mirrored the outcomes. And although polls in Florida and North Carolina overstated Biden’s support, they largely showed a tight



A police officer watches as supporters of President Trump protest outside the TCF Center as absentee ballots are counted.

and competitive race.

An association representing polling professionals released a statement Thursday asking for critics to withhold judgment until all the votes are counted.

“It will take weeks for election officials to carefully count all early, absentee, in-person and provisional ballots,” the American Association for Public Opinion Research said in a statement. “As such, it is premature to make sweeping judgments on the polls’ overall performance before all the ballots are counted. Patience is necessary.”

The frustration, however, has been clear for months as both Democratic and Republican campaigns have had to focus their energy to push back on polling-driven narratives that are now in doubt, while also assessing the reliability of the internal polls that drive their strategies.

“As much as there needs to be a reckoning for campaigns and issue campaigns, it is also for me a reckoning for the media that obsessively covers public polls,” said Michael Halle, a longtime Democratic consultant who worked for former secretary of state Hillary Clinton and former South Bend, Ind., mayor Pete Buttigieg.

During the campaign, Trump complained repeatedly of “suppression polls” by the news media,

which he argued were an effort to discourage his supporters from coming to the polls. His advisers warned privately and publicly that traditional polling methodologies were not correctly reading the president’s support by failing to capture their expected turnout.

On the trail, Trump would cherry-pick and read out polls that were more positive for him than public polling averages and internal data the campaign was using, which continued to show trouble in the northern states that are now likely to prove decisive if Biden wins. But as the campaign closed, his top advisers sought comfort in the fact that Trump had beaten the polling data four years earlier.

Republican strategists working on key Senate races have also argued for months that inaccurate public polling was having a damaging effect on their campaigns. Public polls in North Carolina and Iowa underestimated Republicans’ vote margin by about five percentage points on average compared with the current vote count, which is about 95 percent complete. In North Carolina, polls showed a small advantage for Democrat Cal Cunningham, which flipped to an apparently small win for Sen. Thom Tillis (R).

Democrat Sara Gideon led at least numerically in all 14 public

polls tracked by the website RealClearPolitics in the U.S. Senate race in Maine, including seven polls that showed her leading by five points or more. Sen. Susan Collins (R) ultimately won reelection in that contest, notching a seven-point lead, with 88 percent of votes counted.

Jesse Hunt, the communications director for the National Republican Senatorial Committee, said the public polls were consistently different from the numbers Republicans were getting internally for that race and became a burden for the Collins effort.

“These polls can have a major effect on candidate fundraising and the trajectory of the race,” Hunt said. “And it is irresponsible for reporters to write stories and horse-race coverage off of the public polling.”

When polling missed in the 2016 race, the polling industry and Democratic Party insiders launched separate investigations of the errors. They concluded that there were multiple causes of the failure, including a sharp divide in the Upper Midwest between college- and non-college-educated voters that many polls did not account for when calibrating their samples. Methodologies were adjusted by some pollsters this year to weight by education, but it is

not clear that the adjustments improved the results.

The 2016 race also featured a clear last-minute shift in Trump’s direction, as late deciders shifted and others changed their minds. Public polls this cycle showed a far more modest shift. And as in cycles past, there remained notable outlier polls, including the Post-ABC News poll in Wisconsin that showed Biden winning by 17 points in late October, a result that scared Democrats in the state nearly as much as Republicans, because they feared the numbers would be taken at face value by voters, depressing Democratic turnout.

A Post story noted that the poll represented a shift from September, when Biden held a six-point edge. Slightly more registered voters in the October poll reported having voted for Clinton than Trump in 2016, whereas the previous survey showed voters essentially split.

“We are taking time after the election to review all our polling, including why our October Wisconsin poll overestimated Biden’s support, and will use the findings to strengthen future polling,” Molly Gannon Conway, communications manager at The Post, wrote in an emailed statement. She added that when other Post-ABC surveys are taken into consideration,

the “balance of Post-ABC polling this cycle contributed to our reputation for rigor.”

Since the results have started to come in, Democrats have been divided about how badly their internal numbers missed, with several Democratic pollsters declining to discuss the issue until the final vote count is known. Biden campaign manager Jen O’Malley Dillon made clear publicly weeks before the election that the public margins for Biden were greater than the campaign’s internal polling.

“We have been abundantly clear that we thought this would be a very close race in most of our states,” O’Malley Dillon said in a briefing to reporters Wednesday. “We worked hard to make very transparent the fact that we did not believe that the race was in the wide margin that we were seeing as the national poll numbers.”

The Democratic consultant who spoke on the condition of anonymity said that pollsters, both inside and outside of campaign efforts, have been forced to increasingly make estimations because of an inability to get consistent responses across all voter groups.

“Where polling is fundamentally broken now is these guys have to guess at what the electorate will look like and sometimes guess at how the electorate feels,” this person said. “So we are piling guesses upon guesses upon guesses.”

One of the few bright spots this cycle was J. Ann Selzer, whose firm Selzer & Co. does polling for the Des Moines Register and found Trump leading in Iowa by seven points just days before the election. Her poll looked like an outlier at the time. It was the only public poll in the state since June to get within two points of the final result.

Part of her success was timing, as polling did suggest a late shift in support toward Trump, following her September survey that showed the race tied. But she credits her accuracy to her knowledge of the state and the assumptions she was able to make about how different groups would vote.

Unlike other polls that weighted their polls by educational attainment, she weighted her poll by age and sex, and isolated the different parts of the state by congressional district to get a better read on the urban and rural divide.

“It is a science of estimation,” she said. “The key word being estimate.”

michael.scherer@washpost.com

Annie Linskey in Wilmington, Del., and Scott Clement contributed to this report.

ELECTION 2020

Trump’s attacks on vote counts seem to follow an authoritarian playbook

White House Debrief

ANNE GEARAN

President Trump is fond of the phrase “law and order,” which he sometimes tweets in all-caps as a succinct projection of strength and control. His relationship with the related concept of the “rule of law” is more complicated. Trailing Democratic nominee Joe Biden in the unresolved presidential contest, Trump is pulling out a playbook perfected by Russian President Vladimir Putin and other authoritarians. It relies on sowing doubt about the institutions of law and government, spreading misinformation or outright lies that serve a leader’s political ends, and relying on a cadre of loyal supporters to believe what they are told, Putin scholars said. Trump’s attempts to brand legal election practices as fraud and to use the courts — one pillar in the nation’s democratic architecture — to intervene in the counting of votes — another pillar — are the latest examples of what has long been his malleable view of the democratic system. “STOP THE COUNT!” Trump bellowed Thursday on Twitter as he deployed lawyers on what appeared to be a long-shot bid to stop the counting of ballots in Nevada and Pennsylvania. Electoral college votes from either state could resolve the presidential election now in limbo.

As president, Trump has sought to personalize and control the three branches of government to varying degrees. His top-down approach is far less expansive than the autonomy enjoyed by Putin and other authoritarian rulers he admires, and Trump has joked about how much easier those leaders have it. At home, Putin has gradually consolidated power and undermined the independence of the judiciary and legislature. Critics have accused him of enriching himself in office and changing laws to suit himself and his family. He has also assured that he can remain in power until 2036. A hallmark of his dealings with the West, however, is to point to international rules and procedures he claims Russia is following and others are not. Like Putin, Trump takes a selective approach to the rule of law that shifts to suit his perceived advantage, said Georgetown University professor Angela Stent, author of “Putin’s World: Russia Against the West and with the Rest.” “In Russia, the law bends to the will of those who are in power,” Stent said. “And we have seen under Trump a desire, for example, to make the Justice Department his Justice Department as opposed to the Justice Department for the



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

A restaurant worker in Pennsylvania watches President Trump’s news conference Thursday, during which he made baseless claims of widespread voter fraud.

American people. He would prefer to have a system where the laws are applied differently depending on who is in power.” The president does not have that system but often behaves as though he does, Stent and others said. As he ran for reelection this year, Trump baselessly called for Biden, former president Barack Obama, 2016 Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton and several other Democrats to be prosecuted or jailed. He has branded House impeachment manager Rep. Adam B. Schiff (D-Calif.) a criminal and called the investigation fraudulent. He leaned publicly on Attorney General William P. Barr to pursue political investigations or actions and complained that Barr didn’t do enough to deliver results of a probe into how the Obama administration investigated possible collusion between Russia and the 2016 Trump campaign. Trump wanted that report before the Nov. 3 election. Barr has the job because Trump had complained that Barr’s predecessor, Jeff Sessions, had not blocked an ensuing special prosecutor investigation of ties between Russia and Trump’s 2016 campaign. Sessions said he had followed the rule of law. Trump was livid and called Sessions “weak.” “Where’s my Roy Cohn?” he fumed to aides and friends, referring to the legendarily ruthless New York lawyer. The president was blunt about his reasons for wanting to quickly install a replacement for liberal Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who died in September. He wanted his conservative nominee to be on the high court in time to hear any election-related cases, he said. Justice Amy Coney Barrett was confirmed last month. Trump used federal authorities to clear protesters from the park in front of the White House in June, calling the group an anarchist mob. But he has tiptoed around intimidation carried out by his supporters, declining to directly condemn the far-right group the Proud Boys or demonstrators who stormed Michigan’s legislature earlier this year over coronavirus pandemic restrictions. Trump also cast doubt on the federal investigation of an

alleged kidnapping plot against Michigan’s Democratic governor, saying last month that people “should have the right” to decide for themselves whether the alleged plotters were guilty of anything. After a caravan of supporters surrounded and delayed a Biden campaign bus on a Texas highway last week, Trump cheered them on. “In my opinion, these patriots did nothing wrong,” Trump said in a tweet Sunday. “Instead, the FBI & Justice should be investigating the terrorists, anarchists, and agitators of ANTIFA.” Now trailing Biden in electoral college votes, Trump has claimed baselessly that delays in counting outstanding ballots represent an attempt to steal the election. His campaign is arguing to stop counts in some states where additional ballots seem likely to benefit Biden but to keep it going or recount ballots in others where Trump might make up ground. Ahead of the election, Trump insisted that the results must be known on Election Day for fear of “fraud.” Now allies such as former counselor Kellyanne Conway argue there is no rush to

“count every legal vote” in some states. “All of the recent Biden claimed States will be legally challenged by us for Voter Fraud and State Election Fraud,” Trump tweeted Thursday. As with previous claims of widespread voter fraud, he provided no evidence. Bob Bauer, a lawyer for the Biden campaign, said Trump’s claims amount to an effort to “message falsely what is happening in the election process.” Consistency is irrelevant to Putin and other authoritarians accustomed to controlling the levers of government by dictat, said Evelyn Farkas, a senior Defense Department specialist on Russia and its region under Obama. “The Russian mentality is, ‘Whatever truth works for you in that moment is the truth you embrace in that moment,’ ” Farkas said. “Even if you say something different two minutes later, it doesn’t matter. You call on that second truth for your immediate need, and your followers don’t care.” But Trump can’t assume he can bluff his way past judges deciding whether any of his

election complaints have merit, said political science professor Andra Gillespie, director of the James Weldon Johnson Institute for the Study of Race and Difference at Emory University. Trump may not really be trying to win on the strength of his legal arguments in places such as Georgia, she said. A judge tossed a Trump challenge in the state Thursday. “This is an appeal to the court of public opinion of his base,” Gillespie said. “There is his desire to maintain a certain posture of strength, that he is standing up to the powers that be. And he has supporters who are already primed to agree with him, who have suspicions about bureaucracy and the ‘deep state.’ ” Trump claims that “deep state” cabals of career government employees are thwarting his political agenda, and he has repeatedly complained about “liberal judges” or “Obama judges.” “It plays into the narrative he has created,” about battling an array of enemies, Gillespie said. “The problem is when the rhetoric comes into contact with the facts.” anne.gearan@washpost.com

Melania Trump and Jill Biden play vastly different roles on the national stage



Robin Givhan THE CRITIQUE

One woman stands on stage as glamorous misdirection. First lady Melania Trump puts a thin coat of gloss over the xenophobia and racism that runs through her husband’s administration. She ratchets down the temperature of his heated rhetoric with her cool demeanor and unruffled silence. She is the president’s better-dressed alter ego. The other woman, Jill Biden, draws the focus to the heart in her husband’s message — one that includes gratitude. The country last saw its current first lady in the pre-dawn hours of Wednesday posed just behind the president in the East Room as he erroneously declared victory in his reelection campaign. Melania Trump wore an all-business black pantsuit with a white shirt and her signature heels. She was smiling when she entered the room, the golden streaks in her hair echoing the gilding in the historic space. She was a striking figure, which has been one of her greatest skills as first lady, if only because it is the one that seems to take precedence over everything else. As President Trump began his remarks, her face lost affect and her expression didn’t discernibly change as he carried on with his unsubstantiated claims of voting fraud. As he wrapped up, Melania revived her smile and



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Jill Biden offers support to husband Joe Biden during an event at Bucks County Community College in Pennsylvania on Oct. 24.

applauded. It was her version of a raucous four-more-years chant. In that moment of political and personal distress, when the president was all but flailing his arms as he was being pulled under by the rising tide of Joe Biden votes, Melania did not move closer to him in an expression of support and comfort. She stood so far apart from him that it’s hard to imagine she provided any physical reassurance. She didn’t nod enthusiastically when he spoke. She wasn’t his Greek chorus emphasizing his thoughts. She stands on stage as an individual looking out for her singular interests. She is with him, but not connected to him. Melania has crafted her own public image, but one that drafts off of her husband’s. She is the perfectly poised and well-dressed first lady who occasionally says or does traditionally first lady things such as decorating the White House for the holidays or selecting the menu for a state dinner. But she is also the patron saint of his followers, the ones who are immigration hard-liners, Muslim-ban backers, birthers and anti-masks. She is the administration’s policies transformed into glossy, freshly blown-out glory. And she has glided into history. For years, she has told the public that she is her own woman and that she makes her



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump and first lady Melania Trump depart the East Room early Wednesday after the president declares victory.

own choices. “I don’t want to change him. He doesn’t want to change me,” she told MSNBC in 2016. They were perfectly suited to each other just as they were. He is the swaggering braggart. She is the elegant woman on his arm — or at least in his vicinity. Each has served the other. During a conversation at New York University more than a decade ago, a student reportedly asked Melania whether she’d be with her husband if he were not rich. According to a glossy magazine, she quipped: “If I weren’t beautiful, do you think he’d be with me?” Perhaps theirs is a transactional relationship. Only those actually in a relationship truly know the nature of it. But

her words suggest that there’s little fog in how they see each other or any discomfort with utilizing the power of appearance. When the public last heard from Melania, she was campaigning for her husband. And she was echoing his grievances. She was repeating his divisive rhetoric, but in whispery tones and with the occasional smile. She was a full partner in the administration’s commitment to painting the media as the enemy, the Democrats as corrupt, the Russia investigation as a hoax and her husband as an exquisitely kind and loving commander in chief. This is not his story alone; it is also hers. He writes in angry, all-capital letters. She tells it in pretty pictures. Jill Biden, who could be the country’s next first lady, stood alongside her husband when he spoke to supporters on Wednesday, again urging them to be patient as all the votes are counted. They were outside at one of their drive-in rallies and both were wearing masks. He took his off as he began to speak, but hers remained on. The former vice president began doling out thanks when Jill offered him a reminder, which was a bit muffled, and so he paused and asked her to repeat her note. She asked that he add Delaware’s governor to his gratitude list. It wasn’t a big thing, but it was notable because it was a reminder that Jill was not on stage as a silent prop or as someone looking out for her own interests, but as someone in a partnership. The former vice president might well have gotten around to thanking the governor without Jill’s nudge, and even if he didn’t, he could have done so later or in private. But the point is that she was scrolling through the list of names in her head and had no qualms about speaking up because she wasn’t on stage just for show. She was on stage to use her voice if necessary, to support him, to be an extra set of eyes because no one person can see everything. Jill was present. And she was making sure that her husband was seen in his best light. robin.givhan@washpost.com

✿ ELECTION 2020

Centrist House Democrats pin blame on far-left rhetoric

BY RACHAEL BADE
AND ERICA WERNER

An angry dispute erupted among House Democrats on Thursday, with centrist members blasting their liberal colleagues during a private conference call for pushing far-left views that cost the party seats in Tuesday's election that they had worked hard to win two years ago.

The bitter exchange, which lasted more than three hours as members sniped back and forth over tactics and ideology, reflected the extent to which the 2020 campaign exposed simmering tensions in the party even as its presidential nominee, Joe Biden, stands on the brink of achieving their biggest goal of the year — ousting President Trump.

Party leaders had expressed certainty that Trump's divisiveness and mishandling of the pandemic would help them expand their majority with wins in GOP-held districts — and yet they lost at least a half-dozen seats and failed to retake the Senate. The explanation laid out by centrists, according to multiple people who were on the call and spoke on the condition of anonymity, is that Republicans were easily able to paint them all as socialists and radical leftists who endorse far-left positions such as defunding the police.

"We need to not ever use the word 'socialist' or 'socialism' ever again. . . . We lost good members because of that," Rep. Abigail Spanberger (D-Va.), who narrowly leads in her reelection bid, said heatedly. "If we are classifying Tuesday as a success. . . we will get f—ing torn apart in 2022."

Other centrists, including Rep. Marc Veasey of Texas, made similar points. Rep. Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, a Florida Democrat who suffered an unexpected loss to a Republican challenger, argued through tears that the party's infighting on Twitter needs to stop.

Liberals, meanwhile, fired back. Rep. Pramila Jayapal (D-Wash.), co-chairman of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, argued that Democrats shouldn't single out people and ideas that energize the party base. Rep.

Rashida Tlaib (D-Mich.), a self-described democratic socialist, grew angry, accusing her colleagues of only being interested in appealing to White people in suburbia.

"To be real, it sounds like you are saying stop pushing for what Black folks want," she said.

Democrats are poised to hold the smallest majority in 18 years, undercutting the leverage of House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.). The rancor on Thursday's call is certain to be more pronounced next year as the party faces the tougher task of uniting to pass legislation.

During the call, Pelosi sought to reassure her members that the election wasn't as bad as it seemed. Democrats, she argued, have held on to about 70 percent of the 30 Trump-carried districts they won in 2018 — and she predicted they would capture the White House.

"We held the House. Joe Biden is on a clear path to be the next president of the United States," she said. "We did not win every battle, but we did win the war."

Pelosi even held out hope of taking control of the Senate, pointing to two likely runoffs in Georgia where Democrats will be severe underdogs. Majority Whip James E. Clyburn (D-S.C.), however, cautioned that if Democrats run on socialized medicine and defunding the police, "we're not going to win" those races.

In the aftermath of their unexpected losses, Democrats argued that the party needs to come to terms with a bigger problem: Republicans have successfully cast the most vulnerable Democrats as "socialists" and tied them to liberal ideas, including Medicare-for-all, the Green New Deal and cutting police budgets.

It didn't matter that Biden, House Democratic leadership and most members have rejected calls to "defund the police," a position that got lost in attack ads.

The attacks, moderates warned, have proved salient and powerful — and Democrats need to figure out a way to address them now.

"Democrats' messaging is terrible; it doesn't resonate," Rep. Kurt Schrader (D-Ore.), a member of the Blue Dog Coalition, said in an



In a private conference call with fellow House Democrats on Thursday, Rep. Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, who suffered a loss on Election Day, said the party's infighting on Twitter needs to stop.

interview. "When [voters] see the far left that gets all the news media attention, they get scared. They're very afraid that this will become a supernanny state, and their ability to do things on their own is going to be taken away."

The blame game extended beyond the liberal members. Several moderate Democrats said in interviews that Pelosi should have made a deal with the Trump administration on a coronavirus relief package. Many moderates had been pushing her to compromise, fearful that constituents would blame them as Democratic leadership was unwilling to give Trump a legislative victory before the election.

Pelosi has said she was holding out for a better deal and that politics had nothing to do with it. Trump, she argued, wasn't backing liberal policies that address voters' needs — but to centrists, that was just an excuse to say no.

"It made us look like obstructionists instead of those up for the challenge the country needs," said one lawmaker, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to talk frankly. "That was a huge mistake. Trump was like, 'I'm ready for a deal, make it bigger!' and Pelosi was obstructing."

Rep. Cheri Bustos (D-Ill.), the chairwoman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee who nearly lost her seat, is also facing members' wrath. On the call, Bustos defended her oper-

ation, arguing that Republicans were forced to "spend tens of millions of dollars playing defense, deep into their territory in Arkansas, Montana, Alaska, Missouri, Indiana, western North Carolina, and more." But she also offered sympathy.

"I also want to say the thing we're all feeling: I'm furious," she said. "Something went wrong here across the entire political world. Our polls, Senate polls, gov polls, presidential polls, Republican polls, public polls, turnout modeling and prognosticators all pointed to one political environment — that environment never materialized."

She added: "I want answers, and my team is already planning how we go and get those answers. I look forward to talking them through with you."

Privately, Democrats in interviews over the past two days have said the answer is obvious. The party in recent years has moved further left, with some members embracing such liberal ideas as free college, the Green New Deal, eliminating the Senate filibuster and adding justices to the Supreme Court. Many of the House's rank and file support those policies, though Pelosi and the DCCC have done their utmost to steer the caucus away from those ideas and keep them from advancing.

At the same time, one member noted that 130 House Democrats faced primaries this cycle, with

such groups as Justice Democrats defeating establishment Democrats and seeking to punish members who aren't liberal enough.

"There is no question that that was a huge albatross on the necks of so many of our candidates, who unfortunately went down," said a lawmaker who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private discussions. "There has to be a reckoning within our ranks about this because a lot of Justice Democrats don't give a damn about the Democratic Party. . . . They're all about purity and orthodoxy, and it is damaging our opportunities."

In response, Alexandra Rojas, executive director of Justice Democrats, blamed the House Democrats for their own failures.

"They had one job and they blew it," she said in a statement for this story. "We need a Democratic Party that stands for something more than just being anti-Trump."

The frustration was evident during the Thursday call, when moderates who won in Trump districts vented about how the use of some language on the left — such as the word "socialism" — is causing problems with those in middle America. But Jayapal, speaking for many Progressive Caucus members, argued that Democrats have had the highest turnout in urban areas in years, including among people of color.

Democrats lost in 2016, she continued, because they didn't turn out the base.

Rep. Conor Lamb (D-Pa.), a centrist who barely won his seat on Election Day, agreed with Spanberger, however.

"Spanberger was talking about something many of us are feeling today: We pay the price for these unprofessional and unrealistic comments about a number of issues, whether it is about the police or shale gas," Lamb said. "These issues are too serious for the people we represent to tolerate them being talked about so casually."

Even some liberals agreed with their moderate colleagues that the language being embraced by the far left needs to change. Rep. Jared Huffman (D-Calif.), a member of the Progressive Caucus who sup-

ports universal health care, said the party needs to stop using the word "socialist" altogether.

"I think Republicans did get some traction trying to scare people on this 'socialist narrative.' . . . That was a shrewd play from them," he said in an interview. "These labels do distract us and divide us in unfortunate ways. . . . What's the point of embracing a phrase like that? All you do is feed into these fears and bogus narratives."

In swing districts, Republicans spent millions of dollars on ads seeking to tie Democrats to the "defund the police" movement that virtually none supported. In New York, Republicans ran commercials showing a clip of Rep. Max Rose (D-N.Y.) joining a Black Lives Matter march protesting police brutality.

Rose opposes the movement to defund the police, but Republicans accused him of essentially leading the charge to take money from police departments. Rose is trailing his Republican opponent by more than 15 percentage points, with 95 percent of the votes tallied, according to the Associated Press.

Something similar happened to Rep. Anthony Brindisi in Upstate New York. "Cop hater," Republican attack ads said of him after he likewise joined a protest for equality in criminal justice. Brindisi, who tried to fight back against the charge, is down by more than 10 points, according to the Associated Press, though his race hasn't been called.

The saliency of the "socialist" messaging may be one where both parties agree. Republicans in multiple news conferences and conversations with reporters this week have cited the Democrats' move to the left for their unexpected misfortunes.

"Democrats lost these races because you can't outspend crazy and dangerous ideas like defunding the police, Medicare-for-all and eliminating hundreds of thousands of Texas energy jobs," said Rep. Kevin Brady (Tex.), the top Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee.

*rachael.bade@washpost.com
erika.werner@washpost.com*

Georgia braces for two runoffs that could determine U.S. Senate majority

BY PAUL KANE

The battle for control of the Senate headed into a two-month overtime as Georgia prepares to host two runoff elections Jan. 5 that are likely to determine which party controls the chamber, with the potential to dramatically alter the arc of a new Democratic administration if Joe Biden wins the presidency.

As the dust settled on almost every race, Republicans have secured 48 seats in next year's Senate and hold steady leads in two other contests but need to win at least one of the two races in Georgia to land a clear majority of 51 seats.

That leaves Democrats, with a caucus of 48 senators so far, one last chance to reclaim the majority by trying to secure a double victory in what used to be a conservative Republican stronghold. If successful, and if Biden secures the White House, the 50-50 Senate would tilt to the Democrats once Sen. Kamala D. Harris (Calif.) is sworn in as vice president.

The stakes set the stage for an unfathomable amount of money pouring into a state that has already witnessed an estimated \$150 million in advertising in the initial Senate campaigns, now serving as the only two races left and poised to determine the majority.

All four campaigns, and their various outside supporters, expect to try to nationalize the race and focus their messaging on the impact that victories could have for each side, with Democrats trying to achieve a historically high Black turnout normally associated with a presidential race.

Raphael Warnock, seeking to become the first elected Black Democratic senator from the Deep South, faces Sen. Kelly Loeffler (R) in a race that was long expected to go to a runoff because it is a special election to fill the remainder of the term won four years ago by Johnny Isakson (R). Loeffler was appointed to the seat after Isakson resigned for health reasons at the end of last year.

But by Thursday afternoon the state got the double-bonus when Sen. David Perdue (R), running for a second term, fell below the 50 percent threshold that is required by Georgia law to win a Senate race. If his share of the vote remains below that marker, Per-



Sen. David Perdue (R-Ga.), right, seen with Sen. Tim Scott (R-S.C.), fell below his state's 50 percent win threshold Thursday. If his count remains below that, he'll face Jon Ossoff in a Jan. 5 runoff. The race is one of two there that could determine control of the U.S. Senate.

due would face Democrat Jon Ossoff, a documentary filmmaker running his first statewide race.

Ossoff's campaign expressed confidence even as Perdue was likely to finish this round about two percentage points ahead.

"We are confident that Jon Ossoff's historic performance in Georgia has forced Senator David Perdue to continue defending his indefensible record," Ellen Foster, campaign manager for Ossoff, said in a statement.

Republicans are ready to paint the races as securing a GOP majority to shore up the conservative bulwark against liberal Democrats, particularly if there is an incoming Biden administration.

They said that the best chance Ossoff and Warnock had came on this first ballot when turnout was so high for the presidential race, calling Ossoff a "perennial loser" who already lost a special election for a House seat in 2017. Republicans expect turnout for an oddly

timed, post-Christmas election to be a more conservative collection that makes their path clearer to securing the Senate majority.

"If Ossoff couldn't do it now, he's not going to be able to do it in two months when even more is at stake," said Jesse Hunt, spokesman for the National Republican Senatorial Committee, as both parties prepared for the second runoff.

These Georgia races give Democrats the chance to overcome the disappointment of Tuesday's losses in a handful of races they considered tossups that appeared to leave them still in the minority for a fourth successive election.

Moreover, these two Senate races will serve as a rescue effort to the ambition of a new Biden administration, should he win the White House. If Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) remains in power, every Cabinet choice of the new administration would face deep scrutiny and any

deemed too liberal would probably not be confirmed.

A GOP-controlled Senate will continue to ignore the liberal legislation moved out of Speaker Nancy Pelosi's House.

And, should a vacancy arise, Biden's Supreme Court choices would need bipartisan blessing to win confirmation.

Traditionally, Republicans hold an advantage when Georgia's statewide races go to the runoff phase, including winning two statewide offices in such races two years ago. The last Senate race sent to a runoff, in 2008, ended with then-Sen. Saxby Chambliss (R) winning by almost 15 percentage points after a general-election race in which the incumbent finished with a slender margin of three percentage points.

But Democrats argue that the state has been transformed dramatically in the past five years, first because the metro Atlanta region has been an economic

draw for diverse newcomers. And, after Democrat Stacey Abrams's narrow loss in the 2018 gubernatorial election, she formed Fair Fight, a group designed to increase Democratic voter registration particularly among Black residents.

Democrats estimate that there are 800,000 new voters on the state's rolls in the last two years.

And Biden's performance only buoyed hopes of breaking through with down-ballot victories as well. After giving an initial large lead for President Trump, the state began counting mail votes that tilted heavily toward the former vice president and, as of Thursday evening, narrowing Trump's lead to less than 10,000 votes, almost a statistical tie.

All four candidates must now reboot their campaigns for the new race, without any letup after a grueling stretch through most of the year. Local election officials can begin sending out mail ballots

Nov. 18, and early in-person voting begins Dec. 14.

Warnock, the top minister at Ebenezer Baptist Church, where the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. once preached, recognized that he has had the easiest run of the candidates so far.

"Get ready, Georgia, the negative ads are coming. Kelly Loeffler doesn't want to talk about why she's for getting rid of health care in the middle of a pandemic. So she's going to try to scare you with lies about me," Warnock said Thursday morning in a video he released, to preempt the likely barrage of negative ads heading toward him.

Because of the unique nature of his special election, Warnock has not faced any real attack ads yet, as all outside GOP groups focused all their fire on Ossoff in the unsuccessful effort to boost Perdue above 50 percent on the initial vote.

Also, Loeffler first had to fend off a challenge on her right flank from Rep. Douglas A. Collins. Those two had a bitter fight to become the top Republican vote-getter to advance to the runoff, as Warnock faced only nominal opposition from a few underfunded Democrats.

Loeffler, a first-time politician from the moderate GOP haven of Atlanta's wealthy Buckhead neighborhood, moved sharply to her right to prove conservative bona fides up against Collins, one of the president's top defenders in the House's 2019 impeachment proceedings.

Asked during a debate if she disagreed with Trump on a single issue, Loeffler had a blunt response: "No."

Some Republicans now privately worry that Loeffler has left open the middle ground of independents and moderate Republicans who have grown disenchanted with Trump's grievance-focused presidency.

On Thursday, Republicans made clear that they will try to tie both Warnock and Ossoff to liberal activists who pushed the "defund the police" movement in the wake of several police brutality allegations over the summer.

"Warnock has openly talked about punitively cutting police budgets. Ossoff said funding for police departments 'should be on the line,'" Matthew Whitlock, a senior NRSC adviser, tweeted.

paul.kane@washpost.com

Trump loyalists lead legal fight as GOP veterans stay out

BY ROSALIND S. HELDERMAN,
JOSH DAWSEY
AND ELISE VIEBECK

In 2000, when George W. Bush and Vice President Al Gore were deadlocked in the Florida vote for president, a high-powered team of legal experts flocked south to lead Bush's ultimately successful strategy to prevail in a recount, guided by the Republican Party's premier strategist of the time, former secretary of state James Baker.

This year, as President Trump's campaign mounts a multistate effort to challenge the counting of ballots around the country, many of the GOP's preeminent election-law litigators remain on the sidelines.

Instead, the legal team driving the efforts under the leadership of deputy campaign manager Justin Clark includes longtime Trump loyalists and the president's personal attorneys. Among them: Jay Sekulow, the conservative lawyer who defended the president during the special counsel probe and the impeachment process, and William Consovoy, an experienced Supreme Court litigator who has led the efforts in New York courts to withhold the president's tax returns from investigators.

In public, the legal maneuvers are being touted by some of the president's most combative and unpredictable allies, including former New York mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, former campaign manager Corey Lewandowski and Richard Grenell, Trump's former acting director of national intelligence, as well as by Trump's son Eric, an executive at his father's development company, and former Florida attorney general Pam Bondi.

Their aggressive strategy, in which the campaign has sought to question the ballot count in five battleground states, has confronted some early setbacks, including the rejection by judges Thursday of its lawsuits in Michigan and Georgia.

As former vice president Joe Biden has gained votes in key states, Trump has sent off a stream of tweets — many in all caps — making blanket and unsubstantiated claims about fraud and illegal votes.

“IF YOU COUNT THE LEGAL VOTES, I EASILY WIN THE ELECTION!” the president posted Thursday on Twitter.

But his lawyers have produced no evidence of fraud in their spate of lawsuits around the country, and they notably did not sue to stop counting in Arizona, where Trump was narrowing Biden's lead Thursday.

The president himself tweeted “STOP THE COUNT” on Thursday morning — at a time when, had the count been stopped, he would have been behind Biden in electoral votes.

“I have a real difficulty discerning what the legal strategy is,” said Benjamin L. Ginsberg, a longtime Republican lawyer who helped lead the GOP's 2000 recount effort and has been critical of Trump's attempts to undermine confidence in the election. “The most plausible one is that they're responding to the president's order, ‘Do something, do something, do something.’ These suits, taken in and of themselves, are not going to come close to changing the results of the election in any state. They're small ball.”

So far, several courts have agreed. A judge in Georgia on Thursday denied a Trump effort to discard ballots that a Republican poll watcher had alleged — without evidence — may have arrived after the 7 p.m. Tuesday deadline.

Meanwhile, a judge in Michigan denied the campaign's request for an emergency halt to the counting of votes. Judge Cynthia Stephens complained in a hearing to the campaign lawyers about what she said were flaws in their filing.

The Trump legal team had filed an affidavit late and evidence they provided was hearsay, she said. In addition, she said, the issues they cited related to ballot security and access to the count was a matter for local election officials, not the named defendant, the Michigan secretary of state.

“The relief requested is completely unavailable,” Stephens said, adding that the request to stop counting votes made little sense, given that all the ballots in Michigan were effectively counted.

In Pennsylvania, U.S. District Court Judge Paul S. Diamond on Thursday denied the Trump campaign's request to halt the count in Philadelphia, after a deal was struck to have 60 observers from



BONNIE JO MOUNT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Ex-Trump campaign chief Corey Lewandowski and former Florida attorney general Pam Bondi speak Thursday to protesters outside a vote-counting site in Philadelphia.

each party observe the process.

Diamond sighed several times during the hearing and appeared exasperated when the Trump campaign, which claimed all Republican observers were being barred from the count, conceded that they had “a nonzero number of people in the room” where votes were being processed.

Undaunted, the Trump campaign has said it would continue to pursue legal challenges and is expected to make a sustained public effort to allege voter fraud in the coming days, according to two people involved in the campaign, who spoke, like others interviewed for this report, on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal strategy.

“The campaign is looking for examples, no matter how small, to highlight,” said one Republican involved in the efforts.

On Thursday, the campaign signaled its intent to file a federal lawsuit in Nevada to stop the counting of what they called “improper votes” after losing a series of legal challenges in the state about the voting process. The Trump campaign and the Republican National Committee are also intervening in a lawsuit claiming that the use of Sharpie pens was disqualifying GOP votes in Arizona, something election officials have emphatically denied.

The campaign has argued in several suits that its staffers were denied sufficient access to observe the processing and counting of mail ballots. Those actions sought to halt counting until greater access was granted in

places such as Philadelphia. Other suits claimed election officials made small missteps that should invalidate a limited number of ballots cast in good faith. The campaign has also said it will request a recount in Wisconsin, where Biden has been projected to win but holds a narrow 20,500-vote lead.

Some legal experts, including Republican lawyers involved in past election contests, said the suits did not so far appear to be aimed at invalidating sufficient numbers of ballots to affect the outcome of the election.

“When an election is this close and involves so many issues, the legal teams are throwing the legal spaghetti against the wall to see what sticks and see whether it makes a difference in the future,” said Jan Witold Baran, the former general counsel for the Republican National Committee. “It's not improper to say, ‘Whoa, was this all done correctly?’ But the burden rests with those who suggest it was not done correctly to come forth with specific, credible evidence explaining what was illegal or irregular.”

A senior Trump campaign official said legal efforts and challenges are now focused on four states: Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan and Nevada. But they are particularly focused on the Keystone State, where the campaign has filed a half-dozen lawsuits, including an effort to intervene in a case seeking to get the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn a state Supreme Court decision allowing the counting of ballots that arrive three days after the

election.

The official said the campaign has been calling donors to raise money to support the litigation and that Trump is being briefed regularly on the effort.

The campaign has so far amassed a team of at least 26 lawyers at a dozen firms to work on election cases in Pennsylvania, Georgia and Nevada, according to court filings.

One of the major players has been Consovoy, a former law clerk for high court Justice Clarence Thomas who has litigated voting cases for at least a decade, representing Shelby County, Ala., in the seminal 2013 Supreme Court case overturning portions of the Voting Rights Act.

His Virginia-based law firm played a leading role before the election in challenging efforts to loosen voting rules because of the pandemic, representing the Republican National Committee and the Trump campaign. Those two committees paid his firm nearly \$2.5 million in 2019 and 2020, campaign finance records show.

Consovoy did not respond to a request for comment. Sekulow, when reached by phone, said he was working on Supreme Court litigation for the campaign, declining to comment further.

Many of the lawyers tapped to help the Trump campaign work for legal groups or firms with ties to Trump or are affiliated with the Federalist Society, a conservative legal group.

The team includes a wide range of players, including family law specialist Linda A. Kerns,

who joined with lawyers from the Pittsburgh office of Porter Wright Morris & Arthur in the effort to seek greater access for Trump campaign observers in Philadelphia, according to court filings.

Another member of that team is Ronald L. Hicks Jr., a Porter Wright partner who co-chairs its election law practice while handling a variety of business and civil disputes, according to his firm biography.

Hicks's profile with the Republican National Lawyers Association says he was lead counsel in a 2003 lawsuit that resulted in 56 absentee ballots being invalidated, leading to a victory for a Republican superior court candidate who defeated her Democratic opponent “by 28 votes out of more than 2.25 million cast.”

One of the attorneys working for the Trump campaign in Nevada is Jesse R. Binnall, who along with attorney Sidney Powell represented former national security adviser Michael Flynn, who was prosecuted by special counsel Robert S. Mueller III.

Campaign officials said figures such as Giuliani and Bondi are more the public faces of the effort, not the legal workhorses. They and other Trump allies have held news conferences around the country in recent days, echoing Trump's claims that the vote-counting process is tainted.

“If there's one illegal vote that is cast, it takes way from the great men and women of Pennsylvania who came out to issue a legal vote,” Bondi said Thursday morning in Philadelphia as Trump supporters and counterprotest-

ers chanted in the background.

About an hour later, Trump allies in Las Vegas claimed without evidence that ballots belonging to dead people had been counted in Nevada and that “thousands” of people who left Clark County during the pandemic had voted. Grenell said mail voting had led to widespread fraud, adding: “That is unacceptable and it's giving legal people a sense that the system is corrupt.”

On Wednesday in Philadelphia, Eric Trump accused Democrats of trying to “cheat” before introducing Giuliani, who he said was leading his father's legal efforts.

Giuliani then declared without evidence that Trump's eroding lead in Pennsylvania was a sign of malfeasance. “Do you think we're stupid? Do you think we're fools?” he asked.

Veterans of the 2000 recount said such spectacles might not ultimately be helpful to the Trump campaign in court.

“Going back to 2000, there was a studied effort to make sure that the lawyers' public statements had the utmost credibility,” said Republican attorney George Terwilliger, who helped lead the Bush recount legal strategy.

He noted that Trump's team might have some valid arguments to make.

“It is important that all votes be counted,” Terwilliger said. “But it is equally important to recognize that not all ballots submitted are valid votes. It is just as critical to exclude invalid ballots as it is to include and count ballots validly cast.”

Another veteran of that effort, lawyer Timothy E. Flanigan, said Trump's lawyers need to carefully analyze where their efforts might have an impact.

“I remember every other day we thought we'd lost and it was over,” Flanigan said. “I've heard people say on television that the most important thing for Trump and Giuliani to know is when it's over, and I agree with that. But it's also important for them to know when it's not over — when there's a fight still to be waged.”

What the team appears to lack is a figure at its helm with the experience and credibility of Baker, said Ginsberg.

He said Baker's importance came not just in his own skills but in the way he was able to draw high-caliber legal talent to the effort. Three members of the Bush recount team now serve as justices on the Supreme Court: Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., Brett M. Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett.

“He gave the clear signal: You get the best and brightest down here,” Ginsberg said.

rosalind.helderman@washpost.com
josh.dawsey@washpost.com
elise.viebeck@washpost.com

Emma Brown in Washington, Jon Swaine in New York, Hannah Knowles in Phoenix, Tom Hamburger in Detroit and Robert Klemko in Philadelphia contributed to this report.



ASTRID RIECKEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Jay Sekulow, shown in February during President Trump's impeachment trial, has been enlisted to help challenge the election in court.

ELECTION 2020

USPS processed over 150,000 ballots after Election Day, agency data shows

It’s unclear if delivery failures in still-counting states will affect outcome

BY JACOB BOGAGE AND CHRISTOPHER INGRAHAM

More than 150,000 ballots were caught in U.S. Postal Service processing facilities and not delivered by Election Day, agency data shows, including more than 12,000 in five of the states that have yet to be called for either President Trump or Democratic challenger, Joe Biden.

Despite assurances from Postal Service leaders that agency officials were conducting daily sweeps for misplaced ballots, the mail service acknowledged in a court filing Thursday that thousands of ballots had not been processed in time, and that more ballots were processed Wednesday than on Election Day.

The number of mailed ballots the Postal Service did not deliver by Election Day is expected to grow as more data is released in the coming days. Some election experts worry such delays could run up against even more generous ballot acceptance windows that some states have granted.

In several swing states, late ballots will still be counted as long as they were postmarked by Election Day and received by Friday, according to state law. They include Nevada, where 4,518 ballots arrived after Election Day, as well as North Carolina (2,958) and Pennsylvania (3,439). But in other states — such as Arizona, where 864 ballots were delayed, and Georgia, where 853 were delayed — votes that did not reach election officials by Nov. 3 will be disqualified.

Because the counts are not done in those states, it is unclear whether undelivered ballots would have made a difference in deciding the presidential election. But the delivery failures highlight the risks in relying on the mail service to deliver ballots close to Election Day.

The Postal Service had warned voters not to mail ballots within

one week of the election. The Biden campaign changed its messaging to encourage voters to use drop boxes or vote in person and avoid mailing their ballots within 10 days of the election. The Trump campaign’s messaging on the topic was mixed: The president baselessly claimed mail-in voting was susceptible to fraud, though he and first lady Melania Trump voted by mail themselves in Florida and the campaign later courted supporters to vote by mail after seeing growing Democratic advantages.

Under Postmaster General Louis DeJoy, a major Trump financier who took over the agency in June, first-class mail delivery rates have steadily declined, especially in urban areas that are bastions of Democratic voters. DeJoy said in public statements that facilitating an election in which a record 198 million Americans were eligible to vote by mail was his “sacred duty” and that the agency was up to the task. But the Postal Service’s summer struggles bled into election season almost immediately as Americans began voting in October.

On Wednesday, the Postal Service processed 94.5 percent of ballots on time, an improvement over recent days, but below the 97 percent rate that postal and voting experts expect. Based on the agency’s one- to three-day ballot processing window, voters would have mailed those ballots on Sunday or Monday.

For the remaining 5.5 percent, or more than 8,000, of the ballots that took longer to process, they would have been mailed between Thursday and Saturday.

In the nine postal districts spanning five states — Arizona, Nevada, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Georgia — that have yet to decide the presidential race, the on-time rate was 84.6 percent. That means roughly 15 out of every 100 ballots in processing plants were not sorted — or delivered — in time.

Postal Service spokesman David Partenheimer wrote in an emailed statement that the majority of the 150,000 ballots were destined for states that accept ballots with pre-Election Day postmarks and that the votes would be counted



Elections workers process ballots in Maricopa County, Ariz., on Thursday. An estimated 864 ballots were delayed by the U.S. Postal Service and will not be counted, as they arrived after Election Day.

ed under state laws. “The Postal Service is required by law to deliver all mail that is deposited in our system. We cannot control when voters choose to mail their completed ballots, but we implemented extraordinary measures to ensure ballots were, and continue to be, delivered to the boards of elections as quickly as possible,” he wrote.

On Election Day, postal workers were instructed to submit ballots more directly to vote counters, bypassing the processing plants reflected in the data submitted Thursday to Judge Emmet G. Sullivan of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. Sullivan is overseeing one of several voting rights lawsuits filed in the aftermath of the Postal Service’s well-documented service declines. But the delivery numbers alarmed civil rights advocates, who say that the Postal Service was a vital and unavoidable component of election infrastructure for millions of Americans in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic.

“Voters put their ballots in the

mail by this week and by this past weekend, and the only reason that their vote wasn’t counted was because of USPS delays,” Shankar Duraiswamy, an attorney representing the civil rights group Vote Forward, said in court.

Justice Department lawyers representing the Postal Service have cautioned that the figures are not reliable. The data does not include “first mile” and “last mile” handling steps, which could add time to delivery, and only accounts for items the agency was able to successfully identify as ballots. The Postal Service also encouraged post offices to cull local ballots by hand and deliver them directly to vote counters, bypassing the regional facilities that account for processing scores. The agency cannot say how widely that practice is being employed.

The Postal Service also aggregates bar code tracking scans for a ballot’s point of origin and destination into one report, meaning ballots that travel within the same postal district are counted twice. In analyzing the data, The Wash-

ington Post counted every ballot only once, since the vast majority of ballots are sent locally. In addition, because some postal districts straddle state lines, the numbers in each state represent the upward boundary if every ballot from districts that overlap were included in either state.

The Postal Service reported to Congress on Thursday that it had processed 135 million ballots since Sept. 4, including blank ballots from election officials to voters, and completed ballots being returned to vote counters.

More than half of the late ballots processed Wednesday were in California, with 25,000 in San Diego alone. Another 16,000 were in the Bay-Valley postal district just south of San Francisco and 25,000 more were in the Sacramento and Los Angeles districts. Those ballots can arrive up to 17 days after the election and still be counted, according to state law.

As of Thursday afternoon, Biden was leading Trump in Nevada by about 11,000 votes, with an additional 11 percent of ballots re-

maining to be counted. If that lead narrows considerably the 4,000 late ballots may become a factor in that contest.

In North Carolina, Trump was leading Biden by more than 70,000 votes with an estimated 95 percent of the vote in. In Pennsylvania, Trump was up by more than 100,000 with a lead most analysts expect to disappear, eventually handing the state to Biden. If those margins become close, the late ballots may come into play.

In Arizona, Biden’s current 70,000-vote lead is not likely to be affected by the roughly 400 late ballots found there. Similarly, the 800 ballots in Georgia could only potentially come into play if Trump’s current lead of more than 10,000 votes in the state narrows considerably.

The Postal Service is under overlapping court orders to devote “extraordinary measures” to move election mail. Those steps started on Oct. 20, and some are set to continue until the end of November. The agency authorized local post offices to create ballot-only drop-off lines and drive-through ballot submission lanes.

Judges in Pennsylvania, New York, Washington state and the District of Columbia also ordered DeJoy to halt a controversial cost-cutting agenda that eliminated late and extra mail dispatch and delivery trips and sought to cut 64 million work hours.

The agency also removed more than 700 high-speed mail sorting machines, close to 15 percent of its inventory, over the summer, a decision that cut the Postal Service’s processing capacity by 21.4 million pieces of paper mail per hour. The agency routinely moves 450 million mail items a day.

Managers had cut back on overtime hours while the pandemic flattened the postal workforce. Mail backlogs were recorded across the country; it took some facilities close to a month to ameliorate the backlogs, according to union officials. Meanwhile, package volumes surged as a homebound nation patronized online shopping to avoid crowded stores.

*jacob.bogage@washpost.com
christopher.ingraham@washpost.com*

The Washington Post | LIVE

The Future Reset

Powering Equitable Opportunity

Monday, Nov. 9 at 11:00 a.m. ET

Washington Post columnist David Ignatius sits down with world leaders and international experts to discuss how reliable access to affordable energy is key to economic advancement.

To receive a live stream reminder for this event visit wapo.st/futureresetnov9



John Kerry
Founder, World War Zero & Former Secretary of State



Mary Robinson
Former President of Ireland



Rajiv J. Shah
President
The Rockefeller Foundation



Lord Nicholas Stern
Professor, London School of Economics Chair

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH

The ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

The Rockefeller Foundation advances new frontiers of science, data, policy and innovation to solve global challenges related to health, food, power and equity & economic opportunity.

ELECTION 2020

Trump’s claims of electoral fraud meet setbacks in court

LITIGATION FROM A1

The threatened legal action was part of a barrage of lawsuits that the president’s campaign has filed since Election Day, seeking to slow the vote count as Biden’s totals steadily increase. So far, they have threatened legal challenges or demanded recounts in five states — Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Georgia, Michigan and Nevada.

The campaign also joined in a lawsuit against Maricopa County, home of Phoenix, claiming that large numbers of Republican ballots were invalidated after voters used Sharpie pens to mark their choices. The complaint was filed on behalf of two voters, one of whom, the suit alleged, was denied a second ballot after a poll worker canceled the first one because a machine couldn’t read it. State and local election officials have said repeatedly that Sharpies are preferred for filling out ballots and that there is no evidence they cause difficulties in the scanning process.

The Maricopa County attorney’s office wrote to the state attorney general’s office Thursday saying that no ballots were rejected at the county’s voting centers and that when ballots cannot be read, voters are given the option of casting new ones.

In a call with reporters, Biden campaign attorney Bob Bauer accused Trump’s campaign of filing “meritless” lawsuits meant to misinform the public and disrupt the vote count.

“This is part of a broader misinformation campaign that involves some political theater,” he said, saying the Trump camp has provided no evidence of wrongdoing.

But the president repeated unsubstantiated claims about fraud throughout the day, pushing a line of attack he has pressed throughout the campaign.

“All of the recent Biden claimed States will be legally challenged by us for Voter Fraud and State Election Fraud,” he tweeted in a message tagged by Twitter as misleading. “Plenty of proof — just check out the Media. WE WILL WIN! America First!”

Trump’s supporters demanded that the count continue in Arizona, meanwhile, where Biden held a healthy lead Thursday but where hundreds of thousands of ballots remained uncounted.

The president’s allies touted a minor legal victory in Pennsylvania, where a state appeals court on Thursday allowed GOP poll watchers to observe the counting of ballots from six feet away.

The decision prompted election officials in Philadelphia to stop counting temporarily to accommodate the observers; the count had resumed by mid-afternoon.

The decision is unlikely to have an immediate impact on the vote count. Observers are not permitted to challenge the validity of ballots. The Trump campaign said in its brief that it was not trying to change this and “simply wants the right to observe.”

“Under the Constitution, the legislature has the right to make these laws, which they’ve made, and the judge just confirmed that they must be followed,” Trump campaign attorney Pam Bondi said at a news conference in Philadelphia. “So we plan on entering that building and legally observing the voting process.”

The legal jockeying drew competing rallies to the city streets: on one side, about 25 Trump supporters shouted, “Legal votes matter!” and “Trump!” Across the street, about 50 counterprotesters chanted, “Count every vote!”

The Trump team is engaged in half a dozen lawsuits in Pennsylvania, including those seeking to halt the counting of a small number of mail ballots whose voters were given the opportunity to correct errors. A new suit filed late Thursday seeks to disqualify 600 ballots in Montgomery County that had no secrecy envelopes as required by law.

The president sought to intervene in a Pennsylvania case already filed at the U.S. Supreme Court seeking to reverse a state court’s decision to extend the deadline for receiving mail ballots from 8 p.m. on Election Day to 5 p.m. Friday.

Although the Trump cam-



Democrats and Republicans in Philadelphia stage dueling rallies Thursday evening outside the Pennsylvania Convention Center, where election votes are being counted. President Trump’s supporters questioned the validity of some ballots, and supporters of Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden demanded that the counting continue.



An election worker loads a ballot counting machine at the Clark County Election Department in North Las Vegas on Thursday. The counting of votes continued in the state, where Joe Biden was leading President Trump, despite Trump campaign officials’ unproved assertions of voting irregularities.



Trump supporters in North Las Vegas peer through windows as reporters await the arrival of Clark County Registrar of Voters Joe Gloria for a news briefing at the Clark County Election Department. Trump campaign officials said they will go to federal court to stop the counting of “improper votes.”

“All of the recent Biden claimed States will be legally challenged by us for Voter Fraud and State Election Fraud.”

President Trump, in a tweet that Twitter labeled as possibly misleading

paign claimed that the case “may well dictate who will become the next president,” the Democrats said that “is not remotely clear at this juncture.”

The Trump campaign said it would open another front in its legal war in Nevada. At a news conference Thursday morning at the Clark County elections department headquarters, Adam Laxalt, a former Nevada attorney general and co-chair of the Trump campaign in the state, claimed without providing evidence that ballots from deceased people had been counted, and that “thousands” of people had voted despite moving out of Clark County during the pandemic. As of late afternoon Thursday in Las Vegas, no such lawsuit had been filed.

Laxalt ignored reporters’ questions asking for examples of the fraud he described. About 100 Trump supporters swarmed the news conference waving Trump flags and carrying signs reading “Stop the Steal.”

Later Thursday, the Nevada Republican Party announced that it had sent a criminal referral to Attorney General William P. Barr alleging that at least 3,062 people voted in Nevada after moving out of state.

The party’s lawyers sent to Barr a list of voters identified by cross-checking voter registration names and addresses with the National Change of Address database.

Nevada law allows residents to vote after moving out of state if they are serving in the military, married to someone in the military or going to school.

A spokesman for Nevada’s Clark County did not immediately respond to a request for comment. Earlier in the day, Joe Gloria, the county’s registrar of voters, said in response to questions about potential voter fraud that he would investigate any incident reported to him.

“We’re firm in our commitment to making sure that we’re processing ballots with high integrity,” he said.

A Justice Department official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss a move that could produce an investigation, confirmed the department had received the referral and said officials were “looking into it.” The official declined to provide any other details.

Trump’s efforts to block the counting of votes coincided with a painstaking process in four battlegrounds — Arizona, Nevada, Georgia and Pennsylvania — that will determine

the next occupant of the White House. In Georgia and Pennsylvania, Trump is ahead, but his lead has diminished with each new update of counted votes.

Top Biden campaign officials, while calling for patience as final ballots are being counted, continued projecting confidence that their candidate will soon be declared the winner of the presidential election.

“We are absolutely confident that Joe Biden will be the next president of the United States,” campaign manager Jen O’Malley Dillon said on a call with reporters, which included slides on how campaign officials think they will win at least four of the most hotly contested remaining states.

In Georgia, for instance, Trump’s lead had narrowed to fewer than 2,000 votes by Thursday night, with roughly 16,000 ballots left to count statewide. That does not include up to 8,899 military ballots that could come in Friday, or an unknown number of provisional ballots.

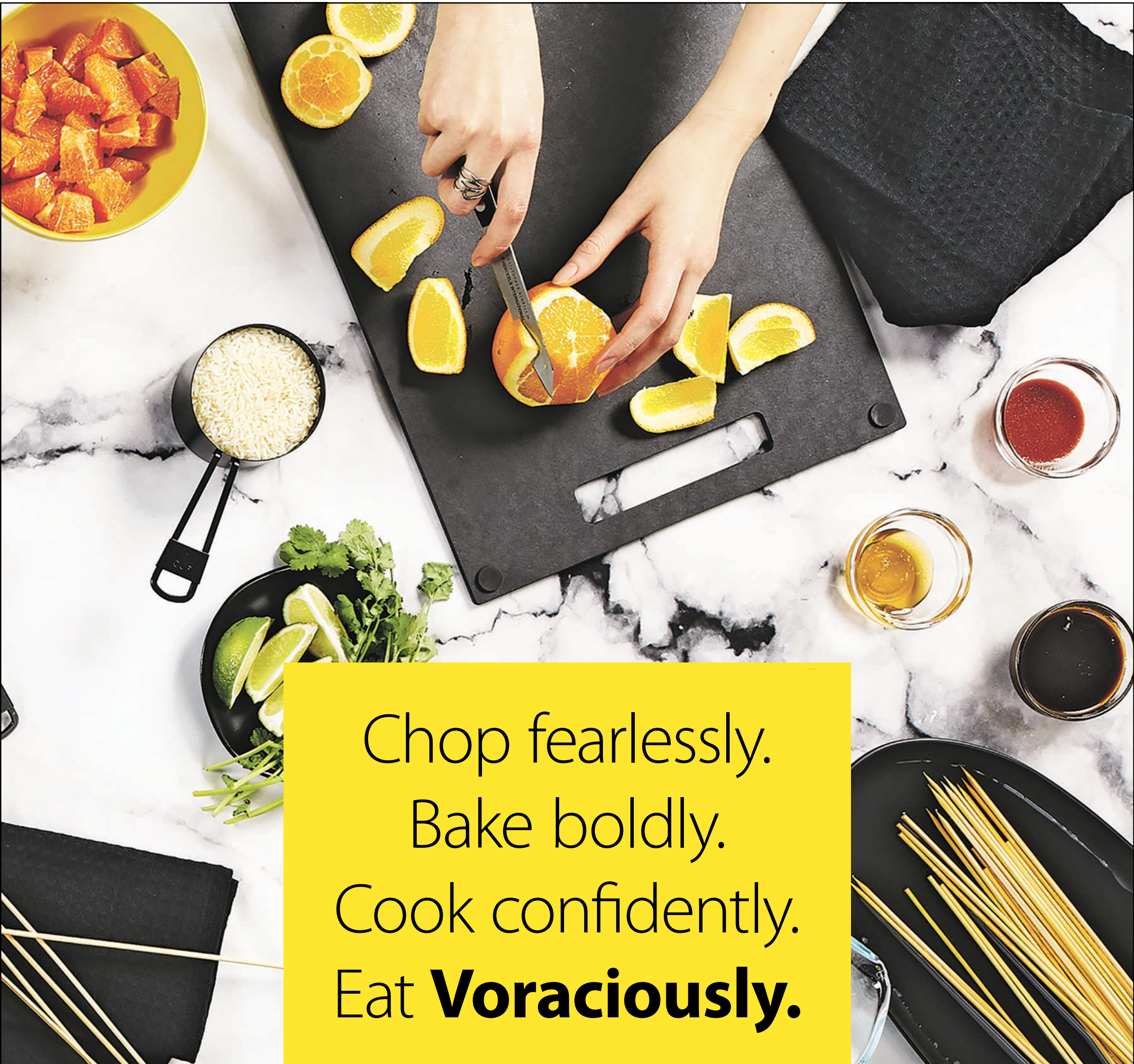
Biden was winning the late-counted ballots by large margins in part because they were concentrated in Democratic enclaves around Savannah and metro Atlanta, and also because they were mail ballots, which Democrats had used in greater numbers than Republicans.

The tightening margin in Georgia may lead to a recount request. If the margin is less than or equal to 0.5 percent of the certified results, a candidate can request a recount. There is no automatic recount in the state, and a candidate must request a recount within two business days after the certification, which is scheduled to take place by Nov. 20.

The president’s allies, meanwhile, appeared poised to open up a new front in their effort to secure the election for Trump. Conservative talk radio host Mark Levin urged Republican-controlled state legislatures to prepare to override the popular vote in their states and appoint their own slate of electors.

amy.gardner@washpost.com
jon.swaine@washpost.com
michelle.lee@washpost.com
emma.brown@washpost.com

Swaine reported from New York. Robert Klemko and Maura Ewing in Philadelphia, Tom Hamburger in Detroit, Matt Viser, Tobi Raji, Robert Barnes, Anna Brugmann, Aaron Schaffer, Maya Smith, Keith Newell and Matt Zapotosky in Washington, Ryan Slattery in Las Vegas, Hannah Knowles in Phoenix and Reis Thebault and Haisten Willis in Atlanta contributed to this report.



Chop fearlessly.
Bake boldly.
Cook confidently.
Eat **Voraciously.**

Meet Voraciously, the delicious destination from
Washington Post Food.
Get a taste at [voraciously.com](https://www.voraciously.com).

VORACIOUSLY

The Washington Post



8 a.m.
55°



Noon
69°



4 p.m.
72°



8 p.m.
62°

High today at approx. 3 p.m.
74°
Precip: 0%
Wind: SW
4-8 mph

JOHN KELLY'S WASHINGTON
New graffiti on the CSX bridge over the Capital Beltway is a reference to a 40-year-old inside joke. **B3**



VIRGINIA
After admissions changes at Thomas Jefferson High, Fairfax County families sued the school district. **B5**



OBITUARIES
Travis Roy, 45, was paralyzed playing hockey and advocated for spinal cord injury survivors. **B6**

Schools delay plans to reopen classrooms

BY HANNAH NATANSON

As cases of the coronavirus surge nationally and in the D.C. region, some Washington-area school systems are pressing pause on plans to return children to classrooms.

Arlington Public Schools in Northern Virginia, which enrolls 26,000, this week delayed returning lower-schoolers to buildings until 2021. Anne Arundel County Public Schools in Maryland, which serves roughly 85,000, followed suit Wednesday, pushing back a scheduled return for elementary students until February. D.C. Public Schools also nixed its plan to bring some students into classrooms Nov. 9.

"We continue to see the case incidence rate in our area increasing, not decreasing," Arlington Superintendent Francisco Durán wrote in a message to families Monday. "Moving too quickly ... while case levels are rising, represents a safety risk and could cause further disruption to schedules."

Most large public school systems in D.C., Maryland and Northern Virginia have been shuttered since March. But as fall got underway, superintendents in all three began announcing strategies to deliver small batches of vulnerable students — those with disabilities, English-language learners and young children — back into classrooms.

As coronavirus cases held steady for much of August and September, small groups of children settled successfully into some classrooms in Northern Virginia. **SEE SCHOOLS ON B4**

D.C. eases quarantine rules ahead of holiday

BY JULIE ZAUZMER, OVETTA WIGGINS AND DANA HEDGPETH

A policy change in D.C. will make it less burdensome for residents to travel or host guests from afar, a reversal in messaging even as Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) encourages residents to spend Thanksgiving only with members of their household.

The rules announced Thursday largely do away with the city's mandatory two-week quarantine for travelers, which has been in place since July. The change came as the greater Washington region set another record for its average number of new daily infections, fueled by increases in Virginia and Maryland.

D.C.'s rules previously said anyone who has been in a "high-risk" state — those with an average of more than 10 new daily coronavirus cases per 100,000 residents — must stay home for two weeks upon entering or returning to D.C.

As case rates rose nationwide, **SEE REGION ON B4**

New cases in region

Through 5 p.m. Thursday, 2,645 new coronavirus cases were reported in the District, Maryland and Virginia, bringing the total number of cases to 354,848.

D.C.	MD.	VA.
+81	+1,198	+1,366
17,682	149,964	187,202

Coronavirus-related deaths

As of 5 p.m. Thursday:

D.C.	MD.*	VA.
+3	+10	+11
650	4,182	3,688

* Includes probable covid-19 deaths



PHOTOS BY TONI L. SANDYS/THE WASHINGTON POST

For the love of the game

Aging softball buddies in Montgomery County are defying the pandemic

BY MICHAEL S. ROSENWALD

On a crisp fall morning in suburban Maryland, Thorny Thornton steps up to the plate with the bases loaded.

These are the moments that color boyhood dreams, though Thornton has been separated from those days by several decades. He is 73. He has a bum leg, among other bum body parts. But by comparison to his teammates on the Jaguars, many of whom are pushing 90, Thornton is essentially a rookie.

Thorny takes two deep breaths. He takes the first pitch for a ball. And then, with a grunt heard 'round the park, the Marine veteran whacks the ball to deep left field.

"There you go, Thorny!" a teammate yells.

After the coronavirus pandemic hit in the spring, Thornton, whose off-field first name is John,



When the pandemic began, players in the over-70 Montgomery County softball league missed the game, but mostly, they missed each other. Games resumed in September. At top, an umpire readies home plate. John "Thorny" Thornton, 73, awaits his turn at bat, second from top, and stretches, below. Alan Reffkin, 85, above, is one of two players with the nickname "Band-Aid." He was a pitcher at the University of Rhode Island in the 1950s.

wondered when — or if — he would play again. Like other leagues, from T-ball to the majors, the Montgomery County Senior Sports Association softball program was put on hold. Risking a broken hip rounding first is one thing; tempting the fate of a deadly virus that is particularly virulent in seniors is a whole different ballgame.

"We all wanted to play, but at our age we knew how dangerous it would be," said Jim Ehrenfried, the 86-year-old manager and star pitcher of the Jaguars who has been sidelined by a recent heart attack.

Among these retired lawyers, business executives, bureaucrats and military officials, almost everyone knows someone who got sick, whether a family member, a neighbor or a friend of a friend. Thornton, a devout Catholic who attends Mass every day, mourned two people who died — his neighbor and a friend.

SEE SOFTBALL ON B2



Fairfax chief to depart in Feb.

ROESSLER BROUGHT KEY POLICE REFORMS

Planned exit comes amid recent union criticism

BY JUSTIN JOUVENAL

Fairfax County Police Chief Edwin C. Roessler Jr. plans to step down in February, capping a nearly eight-year stint that brought major reforms to Virginia's largest police department during an era of change in policing.

Department officials said Roessler had been planning the move for over a year, but it comes amid criticism over his leadership and complaints that morale is low among rank-and-file officers. All four of the department's unions issued no-confidence votes in Roessler over the summer and called for his resignation.

It also comes at a turbulent moment for law enforcement, when a number of the police chiefs of the nation's largest forces have resigned, retired or been fired amid a national reckoning over the policing of minority communities.

The Fairfax County Police Department, which has roughly 1,400 officers, is among the 40 biggest in the nation.

Fairfax County police spokesman Anthony Guglielmi said the criticism of Roessler was not a factor in his decision to resign. Guglielmi said Roessler was not available for interviews Thursday but would comment closer to his departure.

"It was the eight-year mark and the department is in a good spot," he said. **SEE FAIRFAX ON B2**

D.C. knows how to live with tough elections



Petula Dvorak

"Let's circle back to that project after the election." "I'm going to start doing keto after the election." "The racists will go away after the election."

Right?

Um, no.

Sure, we've all heard that this was the most important election of our lifetime, that democracy and the world order are hanging in the balance, and that everything has to stop until we solve it with an election.

In D.C., we're patiently and knowingly smiling at the rest of you, in sweet, naive America. We know better.

Because here on the Potomac, we deal with upheaval every four (or eight) years on a personal, day-to-day level: the street closures, the real estate churning, the school security measures, the different flavors of tourists and demonstrators who will be filling our streets depending on the brand of peccadillos and ideologies y'all across the nation have sent to us.

After the election, the rest of America gets rid of the campaign signs and life largely goes back to normal.

SEE DVORAK ON B5

Aging softball buddies defy pandemic for love of the game

SOFTBALL FROM B1

bor and a man he had been delivering Holy Communion to in a nursing home.

“It really hurts,” Thornton said. “But I know they are both in a better place.”

The pandemic was painful in other ways, beyond stealing precious time from Thorton and his aging softball buddies. They couldn’t see their grandchildren. They couldn’t go to church. Even a trip to the grocery store felt risky. There was no golf, no swimming, no softball.

“It was terrible,” said Hal Reuben, the 76-year-old manager of the opposing Lions and a former lawyer at the USDA. “There was nothing to do. All you could really do was take long walks.”

They missed the game, of course. But after playing together for years, what they really missed was each other — the after-game lunches that stretched on for hours, the nicknames (Band-Aid One, Band-Aid Two, Spikes, Pooch, Tommy Terrific), the playful ribbing over heart bypasses and stress test results, and getting on base any way possible.

Like during the recent Lions-Jaguars matchup.

“Take a pitch!” a Lions player yelled about the Jaguars pitcher. “He’s wild.”

The batter did not take a pitch. “Nobody wants to take a pitch,” the Lions player said. “Take a walk, for Chrissake. Get on base.”

For Thornton, who drives down from Pennsylvania to play in the league, missing “the community aspect, that was tough.”

Once the county loosened re-



TONI L. SANDYS/THE WASHINGTON POST

Marv Shenkler, 77, before a game at Olney Manor Recreational Park. A Montgomery County over-70 softball league started up in September, with mandatory masks and other modified rules.

strictions on recreational sports, the league started up in September with mandatory masks and other modified rules, including no tags.

But not everyone returned to the over-70 league, which dropped from six teams to four. And some of the players who did had to dismiss objections from their families. So far, only one local player in a county league has contracted the virus, forcing several teams into quarantine for two weeks. The player recovered.

“My daughters worry a lot,” Reuben said a few minutes before

the game began at Olney Manor Recreational Park. “They’re constantly telling me to be careful. We can’t let our guard down.”

So does Thornton’s wife. “She’s concerned,” he said. “But she accepts it. She knows what this means for me, how important it is. I don’t take off my mask.”

In many ways, the masks are just an additional health accessory for players who are already heavily accessorized with medical equipment.

Before the game, Reuben spent several minutes wrapping his toes — all of them — with gauze

and tape made by Johnson & Johnson, a company in which his family, for obvious reasons, owns stock.

Underneath their baseball pants — or jeans, or sweatpants, whatever is comfortable at this age — they wear knee braces and other contraptions.

At least one player wears an athletic cup. Demonstrating it for this reporter, he knocked on it twice.

“No pictures of that,” Reuben said.

The games are more competitive and better played than many

leagues of 12-year-olds.

Balls are often hit to the fence 200 feet away. Double plays are regularly turned with gloves older than the wearer’s grandchildren. Players who can hit but not run are allowed pinch runners from home.

“Runner from home!” the umpire will yell.

“We all wanted to play, but at our age we knew how dangerous it would be.”

Jim Ehrenfried, 86, talking about the over-70 softball team resuming games during the pandemic

For big hitters, outfielders will often switch spots, with faster (typically younger) players moving to spots where the hitters usually hit. (Players grumble about others with lines like, “Yeah, but he’s only 75.”)

There is a lot of chatter.

“Look him over, Marv,” a teammate urges. “Crowd the plate.”

A player in the dugout lets loose some profanity about errors “and not thinking. Damn it.”

When the Lions came off the field after a rough inning, one of the players moaned, “We’re playing like a bunch of seniors.” Tommy Terrific blamed the umpire: “He made a mistake!” Reuben huddled up with his team.

“Everybody calm down,” Reuben said. “Get your heads in it.”

The conversation in between

innings is mostly all softball and strategy, but sometimes life sneaks in.

Ehrenfried took a phone call from his doctor about his heart condition. Tommy Terrific will sometimes veer into politics, trash talking the religious right, to which someone will typically respond, “Focus on the game!” The nearby bathroom is used frequently by the prostate-impaired.

But the determination of the players — in the face of age, a pandemic and serious health issues — is something to behold.

Thornton, clearly nursing a bum left leg, fled out when he came up with the bases loaded, but then went into the outfield and made a tremendous catch, limping back in between innings.

“He won’t quit,” Ehrenfried said. “He will never give up. Ever.”

Thornton came up to bat again later. He took his customary two deep breaths with his eyes closed, visualizing the ball hitting the bat on its sweet spot. He fouled off a pitch down the left field line, grunting loudly. He grunts when he runs, too.

“I’m pushing out as much air as I can to get more in,” he explained later.

After the foul ball, the count was 2-2. Thornton smacked the next pitch over the left fielder’s head, grunting as he rounded the bases. He stopped at third, breathing deeply. His teammates went wild.

Limping off the field after the inning ended, Thornton said, “If I was 100 percent, it would have been a home run.”

mike.rosenwald@washpost.com

Police chief to step down

FAIRFAX FROM B1

position to pass the baton to the next generation,” Guglielmi said.

Roessler, 57, is a New York native who spent more than 30 years with the department serving in a variety of leadership roles from internal affairs to the patrol division and human resources.

The most pivotal moment of his tenure came shortly after his elevation to chief, when a Fairfax County police officer shot and killed an unarmed Springfield man who had his hands raised during a 2013 standoff at his home.

The slow pace of the investigation and the lack of public information about the shooting of John Geer sparked widespread criticism of the department and prompted the county to launch an overhaul of department pol-

icies. The officer who shot Geer eventually pleaded guilty to involuntary manslaughter and was sentenced to a year in jail.

Roessler played a key role in implementing nearly 200 reform efforts, which included establishing a citizen review panel, outfitting officers with body-worn cameras, diverting more people who are mentally ill from jail and giving officers fresh training in de-escalation tactics.

Roessler also made officers’ wellness a priority, establishing help for suicidal officers and a K-9 therapy program. In addition, he created a cyber-forensics bureau to harvest evidence from emerging technologies. And he set up a committee to try to improve the department’s relationship with minority communities, but he was less successful at a related goal: diversifying the force.

Jeffrey C. McKay, chairman of the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, applauded Roessler’s service.

In a statement, McKay (D-At Large) said Roessler’s efforts had “made us the safest jurisdiction of our size in the nation. The Chief has worked with the Board on reforms that have solidified the Fairfax County Police Department as a leader in transparency and community trust.”

Chuck Wexler, executive director of the Police Executive Research Forum, credited Roessler with being ahead of the curve on police reform and making some tough, high-profile decisions.

“Fairfax has gone through enormous changes in some ways that are reflective of what is going on nationally, but much of that change was pre-George Floyd going back to Ferguson,” Wexler said, referencing the 2014 fatal shooting of Michael Brown by a police officer in Ferguson, Mo.

“Roessler was the right guy for

Fairfax because he’s exercised enormous leadership and taken hits for it both internally and in the community,” Wexler said. “Fairfax County will be a better place for what Ed Roessler has done.”

Wexler pointed to Roessler’s decision to publicly release dash-cam video from the department that showed the fatal 2017 shooting of Bijan Ghaisar by the U.S. Park Police after the unarmed Fairfax County man drove away from the scene of a fender bender. Fairfax County police were following the two U.S. Park Police officers involved. Wexler said releasing the dash-cam video changed the complexion of the case. The Park Police officers involved have since been charged with manslaughter.

Wexler also said it was a difficult call to quickly seek charges against a White Fairfax County police officer who Tasered a Black man who was disoriented and did not appear to be a threat during a call in the Mount Ver-

non area in June. That case is ongoing.

But the rapid decision angered some officers and union officials who said that a more thorough investigation should have been done and that the use-of-force was not improper. It was one of a number of issues officers had with Roessler and other police officials.

Some were angry the command staff had received raises in recent years, while officers had not. Others complained that they had curtailed traffic stops and other proactive enforcement because they worried about internal reprimands. Some argued that the department had made officers look racist through what they say was a misleading presentation of use-of-force data against Black people.

“The men and women of the Fairfax County Police Department see this as an opportunity to make change and once again have the reputation that we once had as one of the best police

departments in the country,” said Brad Carruthers, president of the Fraternal Order of Police Lodge 77.

County Supervisor Pat Herrity (R-Springfield) said the department was in crisis in a recent newsletter. He said he was concerned that the issues were having an impact on the force’s ability to fight crime.

“The hard work is really ahead for us in finding the right leader in this climate, finding the balance between the community and keeping Fairfax County the safest jurisdiction of its size,” Herrity said.

Guglielmi said it’s not clear what Roessler will do next, but Fairfax County will conduct a national search for his replacement. Fairfax County joins a growing list of local jurisdictions that are seeking a top leader for their police departments. Others include Prince William, Arlington, Prince George’s and Anne Arundel counties.

justin.jouvenal@washpost.com

ARE YOU TIRED OF LOOKING AT YOUR OUTDATED KITCHEN?

Kitchen Saver can transform your outdated kitchen in as little as five days without the total remodel price.



\$750 OFF plus 12 months of no interest*

Coupon must be presented at the time of estimate.
Offer cannot be combined with any other discounts.
Subject to credit approval.

Schedule Your FREE Virtual or In-Home Consultation Today!

202-996-3561 DC
301-264-8319 MD
703-552-4050 VA



Prepare to be impressed.™

MHIC#28743 District of Columbia Basic Business License #420214000004 Virginia Class A Contractor's License #270512898



We provide the HIGHEST LEVEL OF EXPERTISE in BASEMENT WATERPROOFING- GUARANTEED



Before **After**

JES FOUNDATION REPAIR understands that a wet basement is stressful and damages your home.

Providing expert solutions with nationally-backed transferable warranties, we can keep your home safe and healthy.





Call Today for a FREE Inspection

301-494-1404 | 703-997-9316 | 202-794-5989

SPECIAL OFFER*

SAVE UP TO \$500

OR NO INTEREST NO PAYMENT UNTIL DECEMBER 2021

*Financing offer subject to credit approval. Interest accrues during the promotional period. All interest is waived if purchase amount is paid before expiration of promotional period. 17.99% interest rate if not paid off within 12 months. Discount offer: ten percent off any job over \$2500 up to a max of \$500. Coupon must be presented at time of inspection. Discount and finance offers may not be combined. Offer may not be combined with any other offer. Limit one per customer. Ask inspector for further details. Promo valid through 11/30/2020.



Subscriber Exclusives

The Washington Post

Monday at 11:00 a.m. ET: The Future Reset - Powering Equitable Opportunity

Electricity powers businesses, supports education and promotes modern healthcare. Providing access to reliable and renewable energy is key to helping communities lift themselves out of poverty. Electricity is the foundation for thriving societies – it allows families to illuminate their homes, children to study at night, farmers to enhance irrigation and crop yields and small businesses to reach global markets. And yet, more than 840 million people live without access to power and hundreds of millions grapple with the unpredictability of frequent outages. Engineering sustainable energy options for those who need it remains critical as we tackle the twin global crises of poverty and climate change. Join Washington Post Live on Monday, November 9, as leaders in philanthropy, government and the private sector discuss collective efforts to stamp out energy poverty, scale distributed renewable energy solutions and empower communities worldwide. Washington Post Live is the newsroom’s live journalism platform.

Tune in at [washingtonpostlive.com](https://www.washingtonpostlive.com)



The Beltway bridge has a new message



John Kelly's Washington

The Washington region's favorite canvas for pithy commentary bears a new message, one that gives voice to a sentiment more than half the country

apparently feels. An unknown person or people went out on the CSX railroad bridge over the Capital Beltway near the Mormon Temple in Kensington and daubed it with "Surrender Donald."

It's just the latest bit of graffiti scrawled on the bridge. Most have referenced the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints house of worship that rises, Emerald City-like, in the background. This isn't the first time "Surrender Donald" has been on the bridge. In August 2018, an anti-GOP prankster from Montgomery County named **Claude Taylor** helped arrange for two men to place three-foot-high magnetic letters on the bridge spelling out the same message. The words were visible to motorists on the Outer Loop below.

"You have to have been in D.C. for some period of time to kind of get it," Taylor told me then. "This is an inside joke for sure."

It's an inside joke that's been rattling around the Beltway for at least 40 years. Many old-timers remember when it read "Surrender Dorothy." Those words didn't seem like an act of political commentary so much as an act of whimsy. (To be fair, the Mormons never found it that whimsical.)

It's never been revealed who first *painted* "Surrender Dorothy" on the bridge, but we know where they got the idea: from a baker's



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST

The CSX bridge over the Capital Beltway now reads, "Surrender Donald," a reference to the "Surrender Dorothy" graffiti that's been an inside joke around the Beltway for at least 40 years.

dozen of gently vandalistic Catholic schoolgirls.

In 2011, I spoke with **Chris Brennan** and **Ann Cassidy Principle**, both of whom attended Holy Child, a parochial girls' school in Potomac, Md. In October 1974, 13 Holy Child classmates had a sleepover at the McLean home of **Maureen Leonard O'Grady**. During the night, they sneaked out, drove to the Linden Lane overpass near the CSX bridge and inserted wadded-up newspaper in the chain-link fence there, spelling out "Surrender Dorothy."

Holy Child happened to be doing "The Wizard of Oz" for its school play that year. "We thought it was brilliant," Brennan, Holy Child Class of 1975,

said of their prank. Montgomery Journal staff photographer **Hoke Kempley** snapped a picture. It ran with the headline "Wicked Witch of the Beltway."

Some time later, the words were painted in white on the green railroad bridge. A tradition began: As soon as "Surrender Dorothy" was painted over, vandals would repaint it.

I don't remember ever seeing "Surrender Dorothy" in the new millennium, but in 2014 someone painted "Fugazi" on the bridge. Perhaps it was meant to be like a Bat-Signal, illuminated in the hope that the famed D.C. punk band would reunite for another gig.

The original graffiti also gets a

nod on the beer cans of 7 Locks Brewing. "Surrender Dorothy" is the name of an IPA from the Rockville microbrewery. The label features a stylized drawing of the Beltway, the bridge and the temple.

I called Taylor, the Democratic trickster (his PAC once funded an "Impeachment Now" billboard on a highway near Mar-a-Lago), to ask whether he is responsible for the latest "Surrender Donald."

"I can honestly say it was not me, but I am thoroughly delighted," he said with a laugh. "I need to go drive to it and see it."

john.kelly@washpost.com
Twitter: @johnkelly

For previous columns, visit [washingtonpost.com/john-kelly](https://www.washingtonpost.com/john-kelly).

LOCAL DIGEST

THE DISTRICT

Man fatally shot on Georgia Avenue NW

A 24-year-old man was fatally shot Wednesday night in Northwest Washington, according to D.C. police.

The shooting happened about 10:35 p.m. in the 5400 block of Georgia Avenue NW, on the border of the Brightwood Park and the 16th Street Heights neighborhoods.

The victim was identified as Terrence William Jones, who lived about two blocks from where the shooting occurred. His mother, reached Thursday, said she did not want to comment.

When police arrived in the area after reports of gunshots, they found Jones on the ground. Jones died at a hospital.

Police also found a woman who had been struck by a bullet while inside a vehicle not far from where Jones was found. She was treated for injuries officials described as not life-threatening.

It was unclear whether the two shootings were related.

In a separate case, police are investigating a fatal stabbing that happened about 4:15 a.m. Thursday in the 600 block of Lamont Street NW, in the Park View neighborhood.

Police said they responded to a report of an unconscious man.

The victim was pronounced dead at the scene. His name has not been made public, pending notification of relatives.

Authorities also have identified the victim of a fatal shooting shortly after midnight Tuesday in the 4500 block of Dix Street NE.

Police said Demetrius Benson, 24, of Southeast Washington, died at a hospital.

There have been 169 homicides recorded in the District this year, up 17 percent from this time in 2019.

There were 166 homicides in all of 2019.

— Peter Hermann

MARYLAND

D.C. teenager dies of wounds in shooting

A 15-year-old boy has died five days after he was found with a gunshot wound in a car in Prince George's County, police said.

Prince George's officers responded to reports of a shooting in the 2800 block of Plaza Drive in District Heights just before 10 a.m. Oct. 30, according to a news release.

The teen, Lavarus Blacknell, of D.C., was rushed to a hospital. He died Nov. 4, police said.

Prince George's police said detectives are working to identify a suspect and determine a motive.

— Katie Mettler

VIRGINIA

Report of razor blades taped to political sign

Police are investigating a report that razor blades were taped to the bottom of a political sign in Arlington.

A woman removed signs from the median of George Mason Drive between Yorktown Boulevard and Four Mile Run Drive on Wednesday afternoon and brought them back to her house, police said, only to be cut by the blades as she separated one sign from its metal backing. She suffered minor injuries that did not require medical attention.

Arlington County police spokeswoman Ashley Savage said she could not describe the particular sign but that the group of signs at the median were in support of Democratic candidates.

Savage said police are asking people to be careful when handling political signs and let them know if it occurs again.

No similar incidents have been reported in Arlington, but one occurred in Michigan in October.

A municipal employee was cut by razor blades trying to move a sign favoring President Trump that was too close to the street.

— Rachel Weiner

VIRGINIA

Gov. signs criminal justice bills, sends budget back

BY PATRICIA SULLIVAN

Virginia Gov. Ralph Northam (D) signed two criminal justice-related bills into law on Thursday and sent the budget and a coronavirus relief measure back to the General Assembly.

Ahead of a midnight deadline, Northam offered 10 amendments to the two-year, \$135 billion state budget, under a deal that broke an impasse between the House and Senate during a special legislative session that concluded last month.

The amendments would allow Virginia to create a bipartisan redistricting commission enshrined in the state constitution, which voters approved Tuesday. Northam also proposed an additional \$1 million to fund an independent investigation into the culture at the Virginia Military Institute, following accusations of widespread racism.

Senate Democrats had wanted the budget language approved last month to implement a proposed constitutional amendment on redistricting. Many House

Democrats opposed that language because they objected to the amendment, saying it wouldn't go far enough to protect against racial gerrymandering.

As a compromise, the two sides agreed to pass the budget without the language, with the understanding that Northam would add it if the measure passed on Nov. 3.

Northam also proposed changes to a bill that protects some renters who have been financially hurt by the coronavirus pandemic. One of the changes says adverse actions cannot be taken against tenants based on payment history or an eviction for nonpayment of rent that occurred during the pandemic.

The General Assembly will reconvene Monday to accept or decline Northam's changes.

Northam signed the MARCUS bill, a partial acronym for "mental health awareness response and community understanding services," which would create teams of mental health service providers and peer recovery specialists to accompany police officers responding to individual crises.

The bill is also named for Marcus-David Peters, a Black man who was shot and killed during an encounter with the Richmond police in 2018. Peters, a 24-year-old high school biology teacher and Virginia Commonwealth University alumnus, was naked and unarmed when he ran into traffic.

A police officer fired a Taser at him, and he then charged a police officer, who shot him. His family said he was experiencing a mental health crisis.

Another bill signed by Northam would change Virginia's sentencing laws to allow judges, rather than a jury, to sentence someone convicted in a jury trial. Juries, which have less flexibility than judges in crafting sentences, tend to hand out stiffer punishments than those called for by the guidelines. Though judges can reduce a jury sentence, they rarely do.

Juries are not told sentencing guidelines, only the legal range. They also must impose mandatory minimums, while judges can suspend them. Advocates say the threat of jury sentencing pres-

sures people to forgo their trial rights and accept unfavorable plea deals from prosecutors.

Sen. Joseph D. Morrissey (D-Richmond), who sponsored the bill, and other advocates say the effect will be transformational. The new law would not apply to capital cases, and defendants can still choose jury sentencing.

"I've seen every side," said Morrissey, 63, who has been a prosecutor and a defense attorney and has a misdemeanor criminal conviction.

Five years ago, he lost his law license and resigned his House seat after going to jail for having a sexual relationship with his 17-year-old receptionist, Myrna Warren. He successfully ran for reelection from jail, reporting to the Capitol each day on work release.

But he later dropped out of a state Senate primary and then finished third in an election for mayor of Richmond. He won election to the state Senate last year.

patricia.sullivan@washpost.com

Laura Vozzella contributed to this report.

LOTTERIES

Results from Nov. 5

DISTRICT

Day/DC-3:	3-0-8
DC-4:	9-1-5-9
DC-5:	5-4-6-0-8
Night/DC-3 (Wed.):	8-4-8
DC-3 (Thu.):	8-3-7
DC-4 (Wed.):	4-0-5-7
DC-4 (Thu.):	0-3-3-3
DC-5 (Wed.):	7-2-1-0-6
DC-5 (Thu.):	4-6-3-2-6

MARYLAND

Mid-Day Pick 3:	1-7-3
Mid-Day Pick 4:	8-4-1-0
Night/Pick 3 (Wed.):	9-4-7
Pick 3 (Thu.):	0-6-6
Pick 4 (Wed.):	7-2-7-1
Pick 4 (Thu.):	9-7-9-7
Multi-Match:	1-2-14-31-34-36
Match 5 (Wed.):	1-4-14-26-33 *10
Match 5 (Thu.):	8-17-27-28-38 *22
5 Card Cash:	3H-QD-7C-4D-KC

VIRGINIA

Day/Pick-3:	7-9-9
Pick-4:	8-0-5-7
Night/Pick-3 (Wed.):	9-1-6
Pick-3 (Thu.):	0-9-8
Pick-4 (Wed.):	0-9-1-8
Pick-4 (Thu.):	5-0-1-6
Cash-5 (Wed.):	16-22-32-34-36
Cash-5 (Thu.):	7-15-24-25-29
Bank a Million:	4-6-8-16-24-38 *11

MULTI-STATE GAMES

Cash 4 Life:	5-7-11-17-41 *13
Lucky for Life:	2-4-8-17-31 *2
Powerball:	23-32-33-45-49 **14
Power Play:	2x

*Bonus Ball **Powerball
† Cash Ball ‡ Lucky Ball

For late drawings and other results, check [washingtonpost.com/local/lottery](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/lottery)

Payments as low as \$149

STRICTLY FOLLOWING CDC GUIDELINES

MHIC #125450 | DC #67004413 | VA #2705 108835A | WVA #036832

60% off installation

- Quality You Can Afford
- Complete Bath Remodel

RemodelUSA Inc

Call Now for \$2500 OFF

703-997-9243 VA
301-968-6838 MD
202-796-0266 DC

Don't Replace... REFACE!

Fast & Affordable Kitchen Remodel

Transform your Kitchen with the Look of New Cabinets
Available in a variety of panel styles, colors and wood grains

Remodel USA Inc

MHIC #125450 | DC #67004413 | VA #2705 108835A

Get a FREE Customized Quote Today

Complete Financing Available Now

\$500 Off CABINET REFACING
Some restrictions may apply. Limited time offer.

202-741-4432 DC | 301-637-0092 MD | 703-258-1753 VA

MARYLAND

Frostburg State resumes in person

Some students leave campus as virus cases have recently fluctuated

BY LAUREN LUMPKIN

Frostburg State University resumed in-person classes Thursday, about a week after a spate of coronavirus cases forced the campus online and as questions mount over the school's handling of the virus.

The number of cases has fluctuated in recent weeks — from 28 between Oct. 4 and 17 to 60 during the two-week period that ended on Halloween, according to the school's coronavirus dashboard.

Twenty-six students were in isolation this week, school officials said Wednesday.

Fewer than 1,150 students are residing on campus this semester, along with 400 students who are living in a public-private apartment complex on the grounds. The school's most recent screening data indicates 640 students and employees were tested on or off campus between Oct. 18 and Oct. 31.

As the situation becomes more unpredictable, some students are leaving the campus in northwest Maryland, retreating to their homes throughout the region, where they suspect they will be safer.

Alexis Hager, a 19-year-old sophomore and resident assistant, said she has seen students wheel suitcases out of residence halls this week. She would leave herself, but her job is keeping her on campus, she said.

"As I've been going to the



Frostburg State restarted in-person classes a week after more virus cases forced the school online. Some say the decision is premature.

[cafeteria] and stuff to get food or going to the mail room, I've been seeing more and more people," Hager said. "I'm sure everybody has thought about [leaving] at least once."

Coronavirus caseloads have risen across the Washington region in recent weeks.

Frostburg State suspended in-person classes Oct. 29 after the school's health center recorded 12 positive cases in a single day, pushing the number of active cases to 32, said Liz Medcalf, a school spokeswoman. In Allegany County, where the campus is located, about a quarter of 300 cases logged during the month of October were tied to the university, said Brenda Caldwell, a spokeswoman for the county's health department.

The cases that forced classes online "were spread within a

common social circle," the university said in a statement. "Had we seen significant spread outside of these social circles, or what is called 'community spread,' we would have taken stronger actions."

But some students think the school's decision to restart in-person classes and reopen recreation facilities is premature, particularly as students continue to contract the virus.

Jasmine Bonomolo, 20, a psychology major, said she reported flu-like symptoms to the campus health center on Oct. 26 and was told to get tested at an off-campus urgent-care facility, she said.

Bonomolo would spend most of the week in her dorm room, trying her best to avoid other students. After she received her positive test result Oct. 29, she said she informed the health cen-

ter and reported a new symptom: chest pains.

Frostburg State officials said students who report severe symptoms are referred to an urgent-care center or to the emergency room, even for a coronavirus test. The campus health center also is not equipped to deal with severe complications, such as chest pain and shortness of breath, Medcalf said.

Bonomolo said she was released from the emergency room and prescribed ibuprofen to manage the pain. On Oct. 30 — nearly 24 hours after receiving her positive result — the 20-year-old said university health center staff instructed her to go to a nearby Quality Inn hotel, the school's designated isolation space.

"It's a little upsetting just because I feel as though that it could have been handled better because of the fact that I was in the dorm, around people. I had no choice but to go to the bathroom that other people use, and it feels a little upsetting," Bonomolo said. "I was put in a position that put [other students] in harm's way."

The university said it followed protocol and, in a statement first published in the student-run newspaper the Bottom Line, said that "any student that has been triaged at Brady [Health Center] and needed to be isolated or quarantined has been properly addressed and placed in proper situation for their care."

The uptick in cases is also inflaming tensions between the university and the union that represents housekeepers, bus drivers and other employees. The union said members will rally on Friday and demand the university negotiate new safety standards.

lauren.lumpkin@washpost.com

Reopening plans on hold

SCHOOLS FROM B1

ginia. And school officials got more ambitious, debuting strategies for returning larger cohorts of kids — stretching into the thousands — to campuses.

But the D.C. area's plateau in cases ended as the weather turned colder. In October, cases began to pick up, with the daily count exceeding 2,000 for the first time this fall. Late last month, D.C. hit an 11-week high in new daily infections, and officials in Maryland's Montgomery County reported the highest number of cases seen since June.

Teachers unions in the Washington region, noting the spike, began mounting vocal challenges to officials' reopening plans. In Virginia's Fairfax County and in D.C., teachers held mental health days — during which they did not teach — to protest reopening plans. When D.C. this week nixed reopening plans, which would have brought 7,000 elementary students for in-person instruction next week, officials pointed to teachers' reluctance to return.

"Our plans were blocked," D.C. Public Schools Chancellor Lewis D. Ferebee said. "We did not have the ability to utilize our staffing model."

Arlington officials had hoped to return thousands of prekindergartners through fifth-graders — including English-language learners, children with disabilities and career and technical education students — to classrooms for two days of face-to-face instruction each week starting Nov. 12. Now, no one in that group will see the inside of a school building until at least January.

According to a presentation from Durán, children in this cohort will instead participate in a phased return over the course of January. Prekindergarten, kin-

dergarten and career and technical students will return first, then first- and second-graders and finally the last batch, which will include third-, fourth- and fifth-graders. Middle- and high school students who chose hybrid instruction are to return sometime in January, yet to be determined.

Still, Arlington did proceed with a portion of its previous reopening plans this week. Officials returned 236 students — some with disabilities — to classrooms Nov. 4, as part of what the school is calling its "Level 1" cohort. The group whose instruction was delayed is known as "Level 2."

In Anne Arundel, elementary students were supposed to begin learning inside classrooms starting Nov. 16. But the county school board voted Wednesday in favor of pushing that return back to February at the earliest, after Superintendent George Arlotto gave a speech asserting the county's case levels had risen too high to permit a safe reopening.

"The case rates numbers in Anne Arundel County are going in the wrong direction," he said, because the seven-day average of infections had risen above 15 per 100,000 residents.

The delays, although claimed by some as wise, drew ire from parents frustrated with the limitations of online learning. A recently formed advocacy group in Northern Virginia, Arlington Parents for Education, released a caustic statement slamming the superintendent's new, slower reopening plan, arguing it will harm children.

"We have to learn to live in a world where Covid exists AND children are allowed to attend school," the group wrote in a statement. "Arlington's children will feel the effects of this decision for years to come."

hannah.natanson@washpost.com

Hogan sounds alarm over surge in Maryland cases

REGION FROM B1

the quarantine order came to apply to visitors from 42 states, which include about 90 percent of the U.S. population.

Bowser said Thursday that visitors from outside the city won't need to quarantine if they get a negative coronavirus test before traveling and get tested again in the city within three to five days

of arriving. The city will provide free tests to visitors at public testing sites.

The testing requirement generally won't be enforced — there will be no checks at points of entry — although Bowser said places such as hotels, universities and employers could lawfully require visitors to provide proof of a negative test.

Bowser said she is continuing to urge families not to host Thanksgiving visitors, but she added, "We also know that people are going to come here."

The city essentially decided to give up on its quarantine mandate out of a belief that it wasn't being followed, the mayor said.

D.C. residents who visit a high-risk state will be required to quarantine upon their return home until they get a negative test, but the city is abandoning its two-week quarantine requirement.

The rule change is timed to make Thanksgiving travel easier, even though Bowser late last month strongly discouraged visiting family or hosting out-of-town relatives for the holiday.

"Make sure what should be a fun holiday gathering doesn't turn into a tragedy for your family," she said.

The seven-day rolling average of new coronavirus infections Thursday in D.C., Maryland and Virginia stood at 2,315 — a record high for the region since the start of the pandemic. While D.C. and Maryland remain below their peak, Virginia has registered record numbers in recent days, with the largest increases coming in rural Southwest Virginia.

Maryland reported 1,198 new coronavirus infections Thursday, the most in a single day since July 25, when 1,288 new cases were reported. The rolling seven-day average of new infections in the



Fans watch Sunday's Ravens-Steelers game in Baltimore. Maryland eased restrictions on outdoor sporting venues two weeks ago.

state stood Thursday 940 — the most since Maryland hit that same number July 31.

Gov. Larry Hogan (R) sounded the alarm about the increase Thursday while urging residents to remain vigilant as the state braces for a fall surge of the virus.

Hogan said the state has boosted testing and contact tracing efforts while preparing for the next phase of the pandemic. He said the state has 6,000 beds available — including an overflow field hospital at the Baltimore Convention Center — to deal with any surge in hospitalizations.

"We cannot afford to let our guard down," Hogan said. "The warning lights are starting to flash on the dashboard."

In the past week, Maryland has seen a 17 percent increase in hospitalizations, while its coronavirus test positivity rate of 4.21 percent is the highest since June.

For months, Hogan has pushed toward reopening the state. Two weeks ago, he eased restrictions for outdoor sporting and entertainment venues, allowing 10 percent capacity at FedEx Field in Prince George's County and M&T Bank Stadium in Baltimore.

As the state's economy slowly recovers, Hogan has said he does not want to reimpose the restrictions of earlier this spring.

Leaders in several counties are weighing how to respond to the surge in cases.

Montgomery County Executive Marc Elrich (D) issued an executive order Wednesday limiting gatherings to 25 people or fewer and limiting the capacity of restaurants and shops to 25 percent. If approved next week, the county would become the first locality in the Washington region to reimpose significant restrictions on social and commercial activity.

In Anne Arundel County, which has seen an average of one death a day over the past month, the Board of Education voted this week to delay reopening schools until January. Some students had been scheduled to return to school buildings under a hybrid schedule on Nov. 16.

"It's real. The predictions were

accurate," Anne Arundel County Executive Stuart Pittman (D) tweeted Thursday. "The fall COVID surge is happening."

The University of Maryland's campus in College Park will switch to online learning "with very few exceptions" after Thanksgiving break as cases rise across the region, university president Darryll J. Pines said Thursday. The school will offer campus-wide testing before the break, which begins Nov. 25.

"Like many of you, I wish for a return to normalcy for our university, including the full resumption of in-person classes and extracurricular activities. Yet this virus continues to demand vigilance, patience and perseverance," he said in a statement.

In Virginia, the seven-day average of new cases Thursday was 1,288, down slightly from a record of 1,324 two days earlier.

Julian Walker, a spokesman for the Virginia Hospital and Healthcare Association in Glen Allen, which includes many large hospitals and health-care providers as members, said the state has about 7,000 beds available for covid patients if Virginia sees a surge in cases.

"We had a spike in Virginia's hospitalizations in late April and early May and then another in late June and early July, but then the numbers trended down," Walker said. "The numbers are going back up to a high point like we saw in April and May."

Still, he said Virginia's health-care system hasn't been overwhelmed by a surge in cases as several other states have.

"We're fortunate in that respect," Walker said. "There's significant capacity. We've planned to be ready for this."

The greater Washington region Thursday recorded 2,645 additional cases and 24 deaths. Virginia added 1,366 cases and 11 deaths, Maryland added 1,198 cases and 10 deaths, and D.C. added 81 cases and three deaths.

julie.zauzmer@washpost.com
dana.hedgpath@washpost.com

Lauren Lumpkin contributed to this report.

SUNDAY
PREVIEW

The Magazine

God save America

American democracy needs major repairs. Could religion play a key role in a solution?

Business

AI whiz: Katie Stevo wants to be the next Elon Musk or Steve Jobs. But first she has to navigate being a college freshman.

Arts & Style

Covid as muse: From Shakespeare's "King Lear" to Tony Kushner's "Angels in America," great works have been produced during times of epidemic. Critic Peter Marks looks at what may emerge from the period we are now living through.

Travel

Discoveries Trail: A recent creation of the Delaware Tourism Office, a trail of nine interactive artworks scattered around the state, offers visitors an Instagram-friendly, covid-safe experience.

Sunday Coupons

Save over \$160 with coupons and inserts in the Post Marketplace package of this Sunday's Post!

Some stories may not run due to breaking news.

The Washington Post

20-0982

INSULATION SALE

Defeat The Heat! Being Cold Gets Old!

✓ Hot House? ✓ Too Hot To Sleep?

Summer Will Be Here Soon!

Installing Multilayer Foil Attic Insulation, Blown Insulation and Air Sealing Can Have an Immediate Impact on Your Energy Bill!

6 months 0% interest
AND no payments
for 6 months
then monthly payments
as low as \$69.
with approved credit.
Minimum purchases of \$4,000.
Offer expires 12/5/20

FREE

Air Sealing

with purchase of the
Perfect Attic System

AMERITECH
CONSTRUCTION

**202-996-3585 DC
301-245-2492 MD
703-278-9016 VA**

Attics Only - We Do Not Do Crawl Spaces
VA #2705029456A | MHIC #46744 | DC #67000878 | NC #77474

PETULA DVORAK

Learn from us, America. D.C. residents are pros at weathering tough elections.

DVORAK FROM B1

normal. But we here in D.C. get to deal up close with the decisions y'all made on Election Day.

This one is hitting us harder than most.

It's the first time Washingtonians have seen our downtown offices, lunch spots and dry cleaners encased in hurricane-level plywood as the city continues to brace for mayhem over the results.

It's the first time that we're a city so disquieted that Washington National Cathedral — closed by the pandemic since March — opened up to a limited number of worshipers for a special prayer vigil on Election Day.

Nervous Washingtonians sat in wooden chairs distanced across the nave, heads bowed as rotating celebrants read soothing psalms for hours.

"It is better to rely on the Lord than to put any trust in flesh. It is better to rely on the Lord than to put any trust in rulers," the Rev. Sue von Rautenkranz reminded city denizens who have endured many administrations as she read from Psalm 118. "They swarm about me like bees; they blaze like a fire of thorns; in the name of the Lord I will repel them."

Whew. That's better.



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Protesters dressed as President Trump and Captain America stand outside a boarded-up Subway in downtown Washington, where many businesses are braced for mayhem over the election results.

"It's a sacred place; it felt comforting. We needed to hear that," one worshiper told me, after her first return to a service since March.

As the administrations turn over, we put our work shoes back on, sling our ID badges back around our necks, put our heads down and keep working in

Washington — working on making the country run with the folks you've sent to us.

And, believe us — from the capital city where we've become

pros at adjusting to life after an election — whenever President Trump is evicted from his rent-free mansion, our nation's problems are far from over.

Trump did not invent the racism and intolerance that have been his trademark.

This hatred has been part of our nation's story since the beginning. And though Trump lit the torches to welcome racists out of the shadows and White Americans in denial got a tutorial on how deep the problem is, anyone in the town once known as Chocolate City understands the lingering division, discrimination and inequity that's always been around.

We saw, up close, when the several thousand threats that President George W. Bush received during his time in office skyrocketed to three times as many when a Black president moved into the same address.

This is and always has been America. And it shouldn't have taken a rip-roaring, divisive election to know this.

How — you wonder — can we ever go on in a nation so deeply divided?

D.C.'s been doing it for years. Look at the congressional softball and baseball teams, Capitol Hill happy hours, and the unlikely friendships of Ronald Reagan and

Tip O'Neill, John A. Boehner and Barack Obama, Joe Biden and John McCain, Justices Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Antonin Scalia. It isn't always pretty, but we make it work.

So here's my advice to you, fellow Americans. Be more like Washington after the election.

Treat the election the way we treat our holidays — like Christmas or Passover or Eid. Sure, put everything on hold until it passes, but after it does, don't just go back to the diet program and Netflix and work projects.

Stay angry, stay political, stay involved.

A change in the Oval Office means a change in humans, carpets and draperies. But no occupant has a magic wand that will repair our country.

Don't stop reading the news or demonstrating or tweeting or voting or caring.

This election had a record turnout this year, and that's the way it should be. But the America that made you angry and engaged enough to vote in unprecedented numbers will remain largely the same America once our city's worst temporary occupant leaves town.

After the election? Please don't return to normal.

petula.dvorak@washpost.com
Twitter: @petulad

VIRGINIA

Officials reassure voters that ballots were counted

BY LAURA VOZZELLA, ANTONIO OLIVO AND GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER

RICHMOND — Viral Twitter and Facebook posts have spread unfounded fears among some Virginians that their votes in Tuesday's presidential campaign were not counted, the state's election chief said Thursday.

State elections officials and local registrars across Virginia have been fielding "tons" of phone calls from voters who have checked their personal voter history on the state Department of Elections website and found no record that they participated in Tuesday's election, State Elections Commissioner Christopher E. Piper said.

But Piper said nothing is amiss: Individual voter histories on the state website are not updated for several days after localities certify their election results. The deadline for certification is Tuesday.

The explanation has not satisfied some voters, who started calling state and registrar's offices as early as election night.

The online warnings follow an unprecedented election in Virginia, where eased early-voting

rules and concerns about the spread of the coronavirus in crowded polling places led a majority of voters to cast their ballots before Election Day. Democrats were far more likely than Republicans to vote early, and that made for a whiplashing election night that left voters confused and, in some cases, suspicious.

Under the #WhereMyVote banner on Twitter and Facebook, individuals identifying themselves as Virginia voters described looking up their voter histories on the state website and finding no record that they cast a ballot in the election — proof, they argued, that their ballots were not counted. They urged other voters to look up their own records.

"Has your vote actually been counted? Double check now!! My ballot 'was not found' #whereismyvote," Richmond resident Stephanie Casey posted on Facebook.

An interior designer who lives in the city's historic Church Hill area, Casey saw a warning on Facebook, posted by a real estate agent she knows from the neighborhood. Casey, who voted a

straight Republican ticket in a state that President Trump as of Thursday was losing by nine points, looked herself up on the state site and saw no record of her Tuesday vote on her voting history.

"I thought, 'Oh, gosh, that's strange,'" Casey said. "So then I shared [the real estate agent's] post, which I guess was a share of somebody else's post. And it's kind of been going around from there."

The state Department of Elections turned to social media to try to quash the rumors, which Piper does not think is the result of any coordinated misinformation campaign.

Local elections officials said they have been inundated with phone calls and emails from voters who mistakenly believe that their vote has not been recorded.

"People are quite upset," said Matt Wilson, deputy registrar in Prince William County. "However, uploading voter credit does not happen in 24 hours."

The only ballots that will not be counted are the ones that have erroneous information on them or, in the case of mail-in ballots, that were not postmarked by Nov. 3 or do not arrive to local elections offices before the state's deadline of noon Friday, officials said.

In Loudoun County, elections officials spent most of Thursday

morning responding to voters who were accusing their office of fraudulent activity — to the point where the office posted a notice to its social media pages explaining how the process works.

"I think people need to be assured that the system is working," said Judy Brown, head of Loudoun's elections office. "We count everything, no matter what. It doesn't matter who you voted for."

Complicating matters is the "My ballot" portion of the elections website, which is meant to display a sample ballot for voters wanting to know which candidates will appear on their ballot before they get to the polls, Brown said. That function did not work after Tuesday, because there is no longer a pending election. So the message currently reads, "Ballot information not found."

"The title on the particular space is confusing and misleading," Brown said. "Of course, we know what it means. But we're not the ones using it. It's the general public that's using it."

Brown said many voters also mistakenly believe that they can confirm on the state's website that their vote was accurately recorded — meaning that, for instance, if they voted for Trump, the record would show that. But that level of detail has never been available in Virginia, because ballots are not tracked in that way, she said.

Henrico County registrar Mark

J. Coakley said he has gotten a steady stream of emails and a few calls from voters concerned about whether their vote was counted — starting about 11 p.m. on election night.

"It's been going nonstop," Coakley said, though it seemed to have slowed by Thursday morning.

Coakley said that he had heard the concern was being generated on social media but that he has generally avoided such sites as the county has wrestled with the issue of a batch of some 15,000 absentee votes that were inadvertently uncounted. That glitch was corrected Wednesday afternoon.

Henrico County voters check in through electronic poll books, he said. At the end of election night, the chief of each polling place brings the poll books in and the information is uploaded into the state system.

Coakley said Henrico uploaded its voter data on Wednesday morning.

"If someone put their ballot into the voting scanner, that ballot counted," he said.

Amelia County's director of elections, Deborah B. Hathorn, said she heard from "a handful" of voters on Wednesday and Thursday who were concerned that their votes had not been counted.

"As soon as I explain how the system works, it's like, 'Okay,'" Hathorn said.

All of the voters who called had seen references on social media that made them concerned, she said. The state Department of Elections sent an email to local registrars with language to help explain the process to voters, and Hathorn said that by Thursday morning the calls were slowing.

"I am hearing that many registrars are getting these exact same questions," she said.

Registrars in Alexandria and Arlington County also have received inquiries from voters worried that the record of their votes did not turn up on the state website, but people calmed down after learning that the information does not appear until after certification.

Casey, the Richmond voter, called the city registrar and was assured that her vote was counted and that "it would take a few days" before her voting history is updated on the state site. She said she'll be fine if that turns out to be the case, but she still thinks any delay is odd, given modern technology.

"Why can't it be instant?" she said. "Shouldn't it all be linked? But I'm not a tech person, so who knows. . . I just feel like it needs to show up at some point."

laura.vozzella@washpost.com
antonio.olivo@washpost.com
gregory.schneider@washpost.com

Patricia Sullivan contributed to this report.

VIRGINIA

Fairfax families sue over admissions changes at Thomas Jefferson High

BY HANNAH NATANSON

More than a dozen families are suing Fairfax County Public Schools in a bid to reverse changes officials made this fall to the admissions process at Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology, the county's flagship STEM magnet school.

Thomas Jefferson, known as TJ, is often ranked the No. 1 public high school in the nation but has struggled for decades to admit Black and Hispanic students, accepting just a handful each year. Following nationwide protests over George Floyd's killing this summer, Fairfax Superintendent Scott Brabrand announced he would enact aggressive changes to the TJ admissions system to fashion a more diverse student body.

Although that revision process is ongoing, the school board voted in early October to approve two significant changes. First it agreed to eliminate the feared, and famed, admissions test. It also voted to cancel the \$100 application fee.

The 17 families filed suit Thursday in Fairfax County Circuit Court over the removal of the test, calling it an illegal and arbitrary decision. The plaintiffs are requesting that the court issue an immediate injunction requiring Fairfax school officials to reinstate the test.

In a 30-page complaint, the families allege that the decision to do away with the test goes against Virginia law establishing and regulating Governor's Schools — of which TJ is one — that are meant to serve gifted students. That law specifically requires that Governor's Schools

include a "nationally norm-referenced aptitude test [as part of] the school division's identification procedure" for talented children, according to the complaint.

If the test is abolished, TJ "will no longer be a high school devoted to the education of gifted students," the complaint alleges. "Then the Fairfax County School Board will not adequately provide gifted students the educational services required by state law."

The parent plaintiffs also allege that the test's cancellation has inflicted "irreparable harm" on their children, all of whom are middle-schoolers who have "been recognized by his or her school division as gifted" and want to attend TJ. Under the old test-based admissions system, the plaintiffs argue, these students probably would have gained admission.

"Wrongfully denied the opportunity for admission based on the correct legal criteria, the Students will be forced to attend high school elsewhere, forever losing the opportunity to attend [TJ] and obtain the incomparable benefits available from the best public high school in the nation," the complaint states. "The losses they will incur are incalculable."

In an emailed statement, Fairfax schools spokeswoman Lucy Caldwell said the school system had not yet received a copy of the lawsuit and therefore could not comment on its contents.

"We can say, however," Caldwell wrote, "that throughout the process of reviewing any potential admission changes to TJ admissions, the school division has broadly included a wide vari-



HANNAH NATANSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Parents speak Thursday at the Fairfax County Courthouse about their suit alleging that eliminating the entry test violates state law.

ety of voices, thoughts, and suggestions from stakeholders on how to make race-neutral improvements to the admissions process."

The debate has roiled Fairfax County, a Northern Virginia suburb whose school system enrolls roughly 186,000. Although residents on both sides agree that the student body needs to better reflect the increasingly diverse county it represents, they differ vehemently on how to get there.

TJ students and alumni have split into opposing action groups. The Coalition for TJ opposes the superintendent's admissions changes and the TJ Alumni Action Group supports revisions such as abolishing the test.

Coalition supporters say the superintendent's approach is ham-handed, discriminates against Asian American students and will ultimately place unquali-

fied children in an academic environment far too rigorous for them, while robbing talented and hard-working applicants of spots at TJ.

At a news conference Thursday outside the Fairfax County Courthouse, parent plaintiffs took turns making arguments against eliminating the test. Speakers wore custom-made face masks bearing slogans such as "#SAVETJ" and "WE ARE TJ" and stood before a huge American flag.

"These tests are used to identify truly gifted students across the nation and in the state of Virginia," said Srinivas Akella, 47, whose seventh-grade son is also a plaintiff. "For years, they have consistently delivered in ensuring that the truly deserving students are enrolled at the Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology."

Members of the Alumni Action Group, however, insist change is long overdue. In the past decade there have been at least eight attempts by Fairfax school officials to alter admissions and boost TJ's diversity, all of which have failed. For 30 years, the student body composition has resembled what it looked like in 2019-2020, when nearly 3 percent of the student body was Hispanic and Black children made up less than 2 percent. That same year, Asian American students totaled 70 percent of the student body, and White students 20 percent.

Alumni Action Group members concede that the superintendent's suggestions might not be perfect. But concrete action must come now, they argue, while there is momentum.

Tension spiked earlier this fall when Brabrand suggested replacing the TJ admissions system with a "merit-based lottery" that would have randomly selected TJ students from a pool of eighth-graders who met certain academic criteria, including a 3.5 grade-point average and Algebra I experience. After backlash from Fairfax residents and conspicuous lack of support from the school board, Brabrand backed away from that proposal.

Instead, the board directed him to present at a Nov. 12 meeting new and comprehensive suggestions for altering TJ admissions.

Akella, the plaintiff, agrees that TJ's student body is too homogenous but disagrees with the superintendent and the school board on how to improve the situation.

In an interview, Akella noted that Fairfax's teaching staff is

overwhelmingly White. And he pointed out that the county's gifted and talented program — the Advanced Academic Program, widely viewed as a path to TJ — is disproportionately White and Asian. In 2019-2020, Black and Hispanic students made up just 18 percent of the highest-level AAP classes.

Akella wants the superintendent to suggest deeper, more thorough changes that target the composition of Fairfax's staffing force and focus on fostering a more diverse set of gifted students at an earlier age.

"We all want equity and the pipeline to be improved," he said. "But you have to make changes at the bottom if you want to create a more diverse student body."

His neighbor and fellow plaintiff, 46-year-old Hemang Nagar, said he agrees. But he also emphasized the personal considerations driving his decision to join the lawsuit: It's all about his son, a 13-year-old eighth-grader in Fairfax County.

Nagar's son fell in love with math at an early age and has earned straight A's in every math class he's ever taken, Nagar said. His son, who is now taking geometry and advanced algebra, is considering a career in engineering.

For more than a year now, the teenager has spent up to three hours every Saturday evening studying for the TJ admissions test, relying on free, publicly available materials such as Khan Academy lessons to prepare himself.

"I am joining this lawsuit on my son's behalf," he said. "He should get a fair shot."

hannah.natanson@washpost.com

OBITUARIES

TRAVIS ROY, 45

11 seconds on the ice, a lifetime as an advocate

BY JIMMY GOLEN

Travis Roy, a Boston University hockey player who was paralyzed 11 seconds into his first college shift and went on to become an advocate for spinal cord injury survivors, died Oct. 29 at a hospital in Vermont. He was 45.

His death was confirmed by the BU athletic department and the Travis Roy Foundation. He had complications from his condition.

Mr. Roy was a 20-year-old freshman making his debut for the reigning NCAA champions in the 1995-96 season opener when he crashed headfirst into the boards after checking a North Dakota opponent.

The incident left him a quadriplegic.

From his wheelchair, Mr. Roy gave as many as 40 motivational speeches a year. The message he shared: Do the best with what you have and don't dwell on your misfortune.

"I like to say the first 20 years I had a life that was full of passion and the last 20 I've had a life full of purpose," he said in an interview with the Associated Press shortly after turning 40. "The dream is to have both at the same time, but I'm fortunate. I'll take either one."

Since he created the Travis Roy Foundation in 1997, it has raised



ELISE AMENDOLA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Travis Roy, seen in his Boston apartment, was paralyzed when he hit the boards headfirst during his first Boston University hockey game in 1995. He worked to help fellow spinal cord injury survivors.

more than \$9 million — half for research and half to provide equipment for those with spinal cord injuries. Mr. Roy, who was able to control the joystick that maneuvered his chair, regained little movement after the injury and had no feeling below the

middle of his chest.

"I just thought the research would move along and by the time I was 40 I might have a chance of some normalcy again, some kids and a wife and not living with 24-hour home care anymore," he told the AP in 2015.

Former Bruins star and current team president Cam Neely also shared his condolences.

"Travis Roy was the ultimate symbol of determination and courage," Neely said. "The impact that Travis had on the New England hockey community is

immeasurable, and his relentless advocacy for spinal cord research was inspiring."

The son of a Maine hockey rink manager who began skating when he was 20 months old, Mr. Roy went to private schools before enrolling at BU, which retired his No. 24 in 1999.

He graduated from the school with a degree in communications in 2000.

He said he occasionally thought about what might have happened if he hadn't been injured.

"There's times when it's kind of fun to think about it," he said. "It's also kind of sad to not know the answer."

Among the players on the 1995-96 BU Terriers team were future NHL players Chris Drury, Jay Pandolfo, Shawn Bates and Mike Grier. John Hynes is now the coach of the Nashville Predators. Coach Jack Parker is an inductee in the U.S. Hockey Hall of Fame; Olympic hero Mikeruzione was an assistant coach.

"It's so sad for so many reasons — not just the athletic end of it, but what his life could have been," Eruzione told the AP on Thursday night. "To see a life changed in such a direction because of 11 seconds.

"But what he did with it afterward was incredible," Eruzione said. "Such an inspiration."

— Associated Press

OF NOTE

Obituaries of residents from the District, Maryland and Northern Virginia.

Iris Royster, substitute teacher

Iris Royster, 101, a daughter of Virginia sharecroppers who graduated from college in 2001 and worked about 10 years as a part-time Montgomery County Public Schools substitute teacher, died Sept. 12 at a rehabilitation and nursing center in Sandy Spring, Md. She had dementia, said her daughter, Deborah Royster.

Mrs. Royster's story of graduating with a degree in organizational management from Columbia Union College in Takoma Park, Md., at the age of 81 was widely reported. She was born Iris Roberts in Clarksville, Va. In 1939, she enrolled at what was then Princess Anne College on the Eastern Shore but dropped out during her sophomore year when a federal work-study program helping with her tuition was canceled because of World War II.

She moved to Washington and worked as a taxi driver, chambermaid and waitress. She attended a business school, worked as a clerk for a federal agency and helped manage the Royster's Amoco gas station in the District for 20 years until the mid-1970s. She also ran a child-care service in Silver Spring, Md., where she lived for many years before moving to Sandy Spring in 2018.

Patricia Meagher, volunteer

Patricia Meagher, 88, a Silver Spring, Md., resident who spent 25 years volunteering with homeless shelters and addiction recovery groups in Montgomery County, died Sept. 9 at a hospice in Rockville, Md. The cause was congestive heart failure, said a son, Chris Meagher.

Mrs. Meagher provided general staff support at the Stepping Stones homeless shelter in Rockville and Ephesians Life Ministries, a mental health counseling service in Silver Spring. She was born Patricia Essex in Washington and was for many years a homemaker who raised eight children beginning in the 1950s.

Vivian Boul, psychotherapist

Vivian Boul, 93, a psychotherapist who taught at Catholic University from 1966 to 1990 and established a therapeutic nursery school to help indigent children with emotional, behavioral and mental health issues, died Sept. 11 at her home in Bethesda, Md. The cause was dementia, said her son, David Boul.

Mrs. Boul was born Vivian Azarow in Brooklyn. She came to the Washington area in 1951 and worked as an adjunct assistant professor of psychology and director of the Therapeutic Nursery Psychology Department at Catholic University.

She also ran a private psychotherapy practice, taught at the Washington School of Psychiatry for 19 years until 2009 and volunteered with activist organizations, including Neighbors Inc.,

which promotes racially integrated communities.

Daniel Schneider, information systems specialist

Daniel Schneider, 84, an information systems specialist at the Justice Department for 30 years who retired 15 years ago, died Sept. 23 at a hospital in Rockville, Md. The cause was a heart attack, said his wife, Vera Ramaty.

Mr. Schneider, a Rockville resident, was born in Rochester, N.Y.

Robert Mullins, aerospace engineering specialist

Robert Mullins, 86, who specialized in electrical engineering and aerospace for government agencies and private businesses, died Aug. 30 at his home in Bumpass, Va. The cause was Alzheimer's disease, said a daughter, Kimberley Raimist.

Mr. Mullins was born in Storm Lake, Iowa. From the 1980s to mid-1990s, he was a CIA manager specializing in electrical engineering and aerospace. He also had worked for the National Security Agency and Magnavox. He was a consultant to the defense contracting firm SAIC in the early 2000s.

James Smith, banking lobbyist

James Smith, 89, a banking lobbyist in Washington for 35 years who had served as comptroller of the currency from 1973 to 1976, died Sept. 23 at his home in Bethesda, Md. The cause was complications from Parkinson's disease and pneumonia, said his wife, Karen Smith.

Mr. Smith was born in Aberdeen, S.D., and moved to the Washington area in 1953. He was deputy legislative counsel for the American Bankers Association before serving from 1971 to 1973 as deputy undersecretary of the treasury for congressional and legislative affairs.

From 1980 to 1994, he was president of Charls E. Walker Associates, a banking and tax lobby. He was co-founder and chairman from 1995 until 2015 of the Smith-Free Group banking lobby.

Lawrence Finch, defense, arms control officer

Lawrence Finch, 87, a defense and arms control officer who served in the Air Force, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the Foreign Service, died Sept. 12 at a hospital in Monterey, Calif. The cause was pneumonia, said a son, Warren Finch.

Mr. Finch was born in Dallas and moved to the Washington area in 1962 as an Air Force officer. He was a civilian physicist at the DIA, then director of the office of strategic affairs at the State Department and later detailed to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

From 1981 to 1985, he was counselor for scientific and technological affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Rome. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1985 and did consulting in Paris and Vero-

na, Italy, and then returned to Arlington, Va., where from 1999 until moving to California in 2014, he was active in nature preservation volunteer work.

Gordon Gooch, lawyer, lobbyist

Gordon Gooch, 86, a Washington lawyer and lobbyist for almost 50 years whose specialties included energy law and petrochemical interests, died Sept. 23 at his home in Arlington, Va. The cause was renal failure, said a daughter, Ellen Gooch.

Mr. Gooch was born in Fort Worth and in 1961 was a law clerk to Chief Justice Earl Warren. In 1969, he returned to Washington as general counsel for what then was the Federal Power Commission. He served on President Richard M. Nixon's Committee for the Re-election of the President in 1972.

That year, he opened the D.C. law office of the Texas-based firm of Baker Botts. In 1987, he opened his own firm, Travis & Gooch, where he practiced until shortly before his death. His clients included Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Tex.), for whom he drafted legislation limiting federal regulation of the petrochemical industry.

James Leonard Jr., Foreign Service officer

James Leonard Jr., 100, a career Foreign Service officer who helped negotiate the release of the crew of a U.S. Navy spy ship captured by North Korea in 1968 and served in top diplomatic posts in the administration of President Jimmy Carter, died Aug. 29 at his home in Arlington, Va. The cause was congestive heart failure, said his daughter, Carolyn Leonard.

Mr. Leonard, who spoke six languages, was serving in Washington as the head of the Korea desk when the USS Pueblo, a lightly armed signals intelligence vessel came under attack by North Korean torpedo boats in what the country claimed were its territorial waters in the Sea of Japan, also known as the East Sea.

The attack left one U.S. crew member dead. More than 80 crew members were imprisoned and endured harsh treatment for nearly a year before Mr. Leonard helped strike a deal for their freedom. The agreement included a U.S. apology for spying and a pledge to refrain from further intelligence gathering. The Pueblo remains in North Korea.

Mr. Leonard was born in what is now Glen Osborne, Pa., and raised in Sewickley, Pa. He served 28 years in the Foreign Service with assignments earlier in his career in Damascus, Moscow, Paris and Taipei. As assistant director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, he was the lead U.S. negotiator for the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention in Geneva that banned the development, production and stockpiling of biological weapons.

He retired from the Foreign Service in 1973 and became president of the nonprofit advocacy

organization United Nations Association of the USA. He returned to the State Department in 1977 when Carter selected him as deputy permanent representative to the United Nations. Later, after the Camp David Accords in 1978, Mr. Leonard served two years as deputy special representative to the Middle East Peace Negotiations until his retirement in 1981.

In retirement, he co-founded what is now the Scientist Working Group on Chemical and Biological Security at the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation.

Jerilyn Stone, school nurse

Jerilyn Stone, 77, the school nurse at the private St. Albans School in Washington from 1998 to 2015, died Oct. 2 at her home in Washington. The cause was a heart attack, said her husband, Alan Stone.

Mrs. Stone was born Jerilyn Landry in Glastonbury, Conn. From 1969 to 1976, she was a nurse at the old Doctors Hospital in Washington. She was a past president of the Burleigh Citizens Association in Washington.

Jorge Labarraque, obstetrician/gynecologist

Jorge Labarraque, 97, an obstetrician and gynecologist who practiced in Washington for 40 years, taught at Georgetown University Hospital, and was chief of obstetrics and gynecology at Washington Hospital Center, died Oct. 6 at an assisted-living center in Baltimore. The cause was senile degeneration of the brain, said a daughter, Marta Bosworth.

Dr. Labarraque, a native of Guantánamo, Cuba, moved to the Washington area in 1951. As a physician, he was active in La Leche League, which advocates breastfeeding of infants, and the Lamaze method of natural childbirth. In 1991 he moved from Washington to Miami, where he continued to practice gynecology. About five years ago, he moved to Baltimore.

Phyllis Beardsley, child-care provider

Phyllis Beardsley, 94, a child-care provider for neighborhood children near her home in Berwyn Heights, Md., died Oct. 1 at an assisted-living center in Adelphi, Md. The cause was atherosclerosis, said a daughter, Joanne Howard.

Mrs. Beardsley was born Phyllis Miller in York County, Pa., and grew up in the Washington area. She was a child-care provider from 1995 to 2000. Earlier, she was a proofreader for six years for the Beardsley-Howard TV production and graphic design company.

Ana Maria Pezo, lawyer

Ana Maria Pezo, 67, a lawyer who for 20 years practiced family law and immigration law in Arlington, Va., and then Annandale, Va., died Sept. 5 at a hospital in Baltimore. The cause was multiple myeloma and amyloidosis,

said a daughter, Inez Pezo.

Mrs. Pezo, a resident of McLean, Va., was born Ana Maria Cuitino in Valparaiso, Chile. She was a law professor in Lima, Peru, before settling in the United States in 1989. She had her own law practice from 1997 to 2018. She specialized in representing minorities in litigation in federal courts.

Willard Jasper, Army officer

Willard Jasper, 84, an Army lieutenant colonel and Vietnam War veteran who served in the Medical Service Corps, died Oct. 4 at his home at Fort Belvoir, Va. The cause was complications of a duodenal ulcer, said a son-in-law, Steven Feldman.

Col. Jasper was born in Brooklyn, W.Va., and served 21 years in the Army before retiring in 1980 as a specialist in computerizing medical records. In retirement, he was president of a real estate holding company, and a vice president and director of corporate services at Dichroma, a defense contractor specializing in facilities management. He was a deacon at Alfred Street Baptist Church in Alexandria, Va., and vice chairman of the Fairfax County Redevelopment and Housing Authority.

John Kafka, psychoanalyst

John Kafka, 99, a psychoanalyst who was clinical professor emeritus of psychiatry at George Washington University, where he taught for 34 years until his retirement in 2007, died Oct. 13 at a hospital in Bethesda, Md. The cause was congestive heart failure, said a son, Alexander Kafka.

Dr. Kafka, who lived in Bethesda, was born in Linz, Austria. He had a private psychoanalytic practice in the Washington area since 1957 and served as a training analyst at the Washington Psychoanalytic Institute since 1973.

He was a staff psychiatrist at the Chestnut Lodge psychiatric institution in Rockville, Md., for 10 years until 1967, a past president of the Washington Psychoanalytic Society, a life fellow of the American Psychiatric Association and a past vice president of the International Psychoanalytical Association, for which he also chaired its committee for Eastern Europe.

Philip Herbert, plant shop proprietor

Philip Herbert, 74, who owned and operated the Third Day garden and plant shop near Washington's Dupont Circle for 35 years before closing the business in 2006, died Sept. 28 at a hospital in Bennington, Vt. The cause was a heart attack, said his husband, Bob Fogelgren.

Mr. Herbert was born in Baltimore. For his green thumb, he was known in the community as "the plant doctor." He also was an activist for gay rights. In 2007 he moved to Arlington, Vt., where he operated an organic vegetable farm.

— From staff reports

IN MEMORIAM

PARKER



DEREK TEVON PARKER

November 6, 1978 - December 30, 2001
Happy 42nd Birthday, Son. I have spent the last 19 years wishing you were still here and now you and your best friend Deron have both left the highway to heaven. We Love and miss you both. Rest In Peace.
Love Dad, family and friends.

DEATH NOTICE

BASISTA

MARTHA MARIE BASISTA (Age 82)

Of Ft. Washington, MD, died of cardiac arrest on October 31, 2020 at Adventist HealthCare, Ft. Washington, MD. Born August 7, 1938 in Barnesboro, PA. Survived by husband of 59 years, Stephen "Bugs" Basista; sons, Chris (Linda) Basista, Ft. Washington, MD and Kirk Basista, Hastings, PA. Grandsons, John "JT", Sean and Jeremy and great-grandchildren, Isa and Ethan. No service. At Martha's request her body was donated to the Maryland State Anatomy Board for the advancement of science.

BLACK

ARLENE FRAZEE BLACK (Age 84)

On Monday, October 26, 2020, Arlene Frazee Black passed away peacefully at her home in Oakton, Virginia. Arlene was born on March 8, 1936, in Middletown, New York, to James Stuart and Inez Alberta (Wheaton) Frazee. After earning an associate degree from Orange County (NY) Community College in 1955, she worked for the Central Intelligence Agency from 1955 until 1969 as an administrative assistant to the Russian desk. On December 9, 1961, Arlene married Macknight Black in Washington, DC. They raised a daughter and two sons. Arlene also lovingly embraced her three step-children. In 1967, she left the CIA to raise her growing family. In 1983, Arlene earned a Bachelor of Science degree from George Mason University's College of Business, where she majored in information systems and operations management. She earned an A in every course she took at the college level. From 1983 until her retirement in 1995, Arlene worked as a systems analyst supporting the design and sustainment of the database for the Navy's Trident nuclear powered submarine fleet through employment with EG&G. While working, she was a generous mentor to many younger women. She was known by her family and friends as a judicious thinker who diplomatically came to right decisions. Arlene is survived by her husband, Macknight Black of Oakton, Virginia; her children, Louise Black McKee of Clearwater, Florida, David Scott Black of Great Falls, Virginia, and Samuel Macknight Black of Oakton, Virginia; her step-children, Andrew Parrish Black of Manchester, New Hampshire, Lucy Black Samara of South Burlington, Vermont, and Douglas Macknight Black of Ipswich, Massachusetts; ten grandchildren; and five great-grandchildren.

A private burial service will be held at the Colestown Cemetery in Cherry Hill, New Jersey on November 7, 2020. On November 15 at 2 p.m., a virtual memorial service will be hosted online (no in-person attendance permitted) by St. Francis Episcopal Church of Great Falls, Virginia, to celebrate Arlene's wonderful life. In lieu of flowers, please consider donating in her memory to Doctors Without Borders.

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICES

MONDAY-FRIDAY 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.

SATURDAY-SUNDAY 11 a.m. - 4 p.m.

To place a notice, call:

202-334-4122

800-627-1150 ext 4-4122

FAX: 202-334-7188

EMAIL: deathnotices@washpost.com

Email and faxes MUST include name, home address & home phone # of the responsible billing party. Fax & email deadline 12 p.m. daily Phone-in deadline 4 p.m. M-F 3 p.m. Sa-Su

CURRENT 2020 RATES: (PER DAY)

MONDAY-SATURDAY

Black & White

1" - \$150 (text only)

2" - \$340 (text only)

3" - \$490

4" - \$535

5" - \$678

SUNDAY

Black & White

1" - \$179 (text only)

2" - \$374 (text only)

3" - \$543

4" - \$572

5" - \$738

6"+ for ALL Black & White notices \$150 each additional inch wkday \$179 each additional inch Sunday

MONDAY-SATURDAY

Color

3" - \$628

4" - \$676

5" - \$826

SUNDAY

Color

3" - \$665

4" - \$760

5" - \$926

6"+ for ALL color notices \$249 each additional inch wkday \$277 each additional inch Sunday

Notices with photos begin at 3" (All photos add 2" to your notice.)

ALL NOTICES MUST BE PREPAID

MEMORIAL PLAQUES:

All notices over 2" include complimentary memorial plaque

Additional plaques start at \$26 each and may be ordered.

All Paid Death Notices appear on our website through www.legacy.com

LEGACY.COM

Included in all death notices

Optional for In Memoriams

PLEASE NOTE:

Notices must be placed via phone, fax or email. Photos must be emailed. You can no longer place notices, drop off photos and make payment in person. Payment must be made via phone with

The Washington Post

debit/credit card.

DEATH NOTICE CHAPMAN

CHRISTINA V. CHAPMAN
On Friday, October 13, 2020, of Temple Hills, MD. Beloved wife of the late Hurrian Chapman; loving mother of Pia and Pietro Chapman and the late Johann Z. Chapman; dear grandmother of Danielle, Erin, Courtney, Noel and Kyle; great-grandmother of seven; dear aunt of Jewel, Johanna, Tanya and Sabrina. Also survived by a host of loving friends and family. Relatives and friends are invited to Christina's Life Celebration on Saturday, November 7, 2020, from 2 to 5 p.m. at the Kalas Funeral Home & Crematory, 6160 Oxon Hill Rd., Oxon Hill, MD, 20745. A funeral service will take place at the Old Post Chapel, Ft. Myer, VA at a later date, followed by interment in Arlington National Cemetery. Online guestbook available at:
KalasFuneralHomes.com

COLE

DOROTHY VIRGINIA COLE
Dorothy Virginia Cole passed away peacefully on Sunday, November 4, 2020. Dorothy leaves to cherished her memories, husband, Clarence Cole; son, Dion Cole; and grandson, Dorian V. Cole a host of other relatives and friends. Visitation will be held on Saturday, November 7, 2020, at William Reese and Sons Funeral Home, 1922 Forest Drive, Annapolis, MD at 1 p.m., service will commence at 2 p.m.

DUNIETZ

JERRY DUNIETZ
On Wednesday, November 4, 2020, JERRY DUNIETZ of Rockville, MD, Father of Samuel (Simi) Dunietz, life partner of Penelope Fischer; son of the late Sol Dunietz and Genia Dunietz Bam; brother of Doris Shapiro. Graveside services will be held on Friday, November 6, 2020, 11:30 a.m. at Mt. Lebanon Cemetery, Adelphi, MD. Memorial contributions may be made to the charity of your choice. Arrangements entrusted to TORCHINSKY HEBREW FUNERAL HOME, 202-541-1001.

ELLERMEIER



BARBARA JEAN ELLERMEIER
July 23, 1935 - May 15, 2020

She is survived by a host of family and friends. Services are private. Arrangements by Fort Lincoln Funeral Home.
www.Fort-Lincoln.com

GREENE

SAMUEL THOMAS GREENE, III
On Sunday, October 25, 2020, Minister Samuel Thomas Greene III through much long suffering yet steadfast with continued praise was awarded his just reward from his Heavenly Father through his son Jesus Christ. Samuel is survived by his beloved mother Grace Randolph Greene, devoted former wife, two sons, one brother, five sisters, a host of nieces, nephews and friends. On Monday, November 9 visitation will be from 10 a.m. until hour of service at 11 a.m. at the Heaven's Best Church, 8311 Old Branch Ave., Clinton Maryland, 20735 interment Cedar Hill Cemetery. Condolences to
www.pridgenfuneralservice.com

KAZISTA



Rev. Msgr. FRANCIS G. KAZISTA
Age 84, on Monday, November 2, 2020, of Silver Spring, MD, originally of Old Forge, PA. Beloved Priest of the Archdiocese of Washington; brother of Joseph Kazista. Relatives and friends, following social distance protocols and wearing masks, may call at St. John the Baptist Church, 12319 New Hampshire Avenue, Silver Spring, MD, 20904 on Tuesday, November 10, from 10 a.m. to 12 p.m. and 2 to 6 p.m., where Vigil Mass will be celebrated at 7:30 p.m. Mass of Christian Burial at St. John the Baptist Church, on Wednesday, November 11, at 10:30 a.m. Interment Gate of Heaven Cemetery. Memorial contributions may be made to St. John the Baptist Catholic School at the address above.
www.COLLINSFUNERALHOME.com

ANNOUNCEMENT

REMEMBER YOUR LOVED ONES

December 13, 2020

The Washington Post Magazine will publish an Annual Commemorative Section.

Plan to be a part of this annual tradition!

RATES
\$11.10 per Line
\$150 B&W Photo
\$200 Color Photo

DEADLINE
5 p.m.
Friday, November 13, 2020

For more information, please call:
202-334-4122 or 1-800-627-1150, ext. 4-4122
E-mail:
deathnotices@washpost.com

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE LIVINGSTON

GREGORY ALAN LIVINGSTON, SR.
Of Alexandria, VA departed this life on September 24, 2020, at the age of 72. A memorial service will be held Saturday, November 7, 2020 at the Reese Funeral Professionals Chapel, 311 N. Patrick Street, Alexandria, VA; Visitation at 11 a.m. and service at 12 noon.

LOUDON

MATTHEW DAVID LOUDON
On Tuesday, November 3, 2020, MATTHEW DAVID LOUDON of Piney, MD. Beloved son of David and Deena Goldberg Loudon. Dear brother of Ryan and Gillian Loudon. Loving grandson of Leonard and Phyllis Shankman Goldberg and John and Katherine Herbold Loudon and great-grandson of Lola Herbold. Loving nephew of Tom and Sarah Loudon and Bret and Paula Goldberg Butler. Cherished cousin of Megan and Michael Loudon. He is also survived by countless friends. Graveside funeral services will be held on Sunday, November 8, 2020 at 10 a.m. at Parklawn Memorial Park, Rockville, MD. Please observe COVID-19 protocols. Memorial contributions may be made to Angels at Risk, www.angels-at-risk.com or to Relay for Life, www.secure.acsevents.org. Arrangements entrusted to TORCHINSKY HEBREW FUNERAL HOME, 202-541-1001.

McNAMARA

MAE E. HUGEL McNAMARA
On the morning of October 4, 2020, Mae E. Hugel McNamara entered into the presence of her Lord after nearly 102 years on this earth. Born in Suitland Maryland on December 23, 1918, Mae had five siblings (four brothers and one sister) and lived her entire life in Maryland, moving to Montgomery Village in 1968. She held various jobs in her lifetime including working for the US Marine Corps during the Second World War and was an assistant for various doctors, both medical and dental. Mae served the Maryland community in many and varied capacities; as a "Ladies Manager" for the Presbyterian Home in DC (now Ingleside), for decades she was Chaplain of her PEO chapter (Chapters C and D, later merged into Chapter CD), a member of the Gaithersburg Republican Women's Club, and was a lifetime member of the Montgomery County Agricultural Fair. Her husband J. William McNamara preceded her in death in 1983, as did her great grandson Mack Brady in 2012. She is survived by her two daughters, Martha Ann Brady and Joyce Lee Krash; two grandsons, Stephen and Christian Brady, their wives Jennifer and Elizabeth, and her four great grandchildren, Stephanie Desaulniers, Heather Brady, Matthew Darnley Brady, and Isabel Brady. Mae was devoted to her Lord Jesus Christ and worshipped at 4th Presbyterian Church, Bethesda, MD, where she was the oldest and the longest member of the congregation. There will be a memorial service by invitation at 4th Presbyterian Church officiated by Dr. Rob Norris on Saturday, November 21.

MIDDLE

HERBERT JAKE MIDDLE "Gump" (Age 84)
Of Arlington, VA, joined his Heavenly Father, Tuesday, October 13, 2020. Born in Rock Valley, IA. "Gump" was revered as an endearing "character." Retiring from Stohlman Olds as a mechanic and Fairfax County Schools as a bus driver. He is survived by his loving wife Delores "Dee" Middle, cherished children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Interment: Celebration of Life will take place at a later date. For full obituary, visit: <https://www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/arlington-va/herbert-middle-9731073>.

NORTH

JEANNE MARIE NORTH (Age 94)
Jeanne North, a long-time resident of Asbury Methodist Village in Gaithersburg, MD, died peacefully in hospice on October 22, 2020. Born August 25, 1926 in Chicago, IL. Ms. North graduated from Wheaton Community High School in 1944, and from the University of Michigan in 1947. She earned an MA in Spanish from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1950. She taught English as a Second Language in Colombia, South America, and later taught Spanish at George Williams College, a small liberal arts college in Downers Grove, IL. Along the way she married Frederick Hendrik Lutter, a Dutch national whom she met at the University of Michigan. Together they had four children, Yvonne Louise, Randall Willem, Karen Lorraine and Steven Hendrik. The marriage ended in divorce. While living in Paris with her husband and family, Ms. North started working for the European edition of Time magazine as a typist. Later, in New York City, she became a reporter/researcher for the magazine. She retired from Time in 1991 as Chief of Research of Time International. A family summer cottage in Harbort, MI, on the grounds of the Prairie Club's Camp Hazelhurst, was the site of many happy family gatherings. Ms. North was predeceased by her parents, Jesse Nathan North and Adele Simmons North, one daughter, Karen Lorraine Lutter Vasquez, by her former husband and her three brothers, Paul Eugene North, died in 2005, John Russell North in 2012, and Warren Kenneth North in 2013. Survivors include: Yvonne Louise Lutter, Randall Willem Lutter, Steven Hendrik Lutter, 11 grandchildren, and four great-grandchildren. Service private.

ANNOUNCEMENT

DEATH NOTICE OPSTAD



MARY LOUISE WOODS OPSTAD
August 31, 1928 - October 26, 2020
Passed away peacefully on October 26, 2020 at the Fairfax Nursing Center in Fairfax City, VA. Marylou was born in Baltimore, MD. Marylou was the late Charles Joseph Woods and Mildred Laynor Woods.

She was a long-time resident of Fairfax County, VA. Involved with the Fairfax Hunt Club, Chevy Chase Country Club and many charitable organizations.

She is survived by her four sons, Robert Woods Dashiell (Patricia), Charles Lee Dashiell, John Glenn Dashiell (Barbara), Andrew Scott Dashiell (Mallie); grandchildren Travis Dashiell (Jenna), Mark Dashiell, Jason Dashiell, Ellie Dashiell and Sara Dashiell; and great-grandsons Tyler and Chase Dashiell.

A graveside service will be held November 10, 2020 at New Cathedral Cemetery in Baltimore, MD where her parents and other members of her family are laid to rest.

The family requests with gratitude that donations be made in her name to St Jude Children's Research Hospital. www.stjude.org

To share memories and condolences, please visit <https://tinyurl.com/MaryLOobit>

OSHIMA



MIE A. OSHIMA
(Age 91)

Passed away on November 1, 2020, peacefully at home with loving family as she had always wanted. Preceded in death by husband, Fred and son, Donald, she is survived by children, Ron, Wayne and Marsha, son-in-law, David, and grandchildren, Olivia and Lillian. Private services will be held at a later date. Charitable donations in Mie's memory can be made to either Mt. Vernon Place United Methodist Church (<https://mvpumc.org>) or the Fisher Center for Alzheimer's Research (<http://www.alzinfo.org>).

SAGON

PATRICIA SAGON
Patricia A. Sagon of Washington, DC passed away on Tuesday, November 3, 2020 at the age of 70. Beloved partner of Charles Miller and predeceased in death by her parents, Philip Sagon and Martha (Silverstein) Sagon. Funeral services will be held privately at Garden of Remembrance Memorial Park in Clarksburg, MD. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to a charity of choice. Services entrusted to Sagel Bloomfield Dankszky Goldberg Funeral Care.
www.sagelbloomfield.com

SAUNDERS

KEVIN M. SAUNDERS
2/21/1966 - 9/25/2020
Officers and members of Local 26 IBEW are hereby notified of the death of Retired brother Kevin M. Saunders. Friends may call at Jefferson Home of Fleming & Billman Funeral Directors and Crematory, 49 West Jefferson St., Jefferson, OH, 44047, 440-576-4055 where visitation will be held on Saturday, November 7, 2020 from 12 p.m. to 2 p.m.
J.F. Dabbs, FS

DEATH NOTICE



SUSAN DAVIS CANTRIL

Susan Davis Cantril passed away on October 14, just two weeks before her 78th birthday with her devoted husband of 47 years, Albert H. Cantril, at her side. She is survived by two sisters: Nancy W. D. Archibald of Lebanon, N. H. and Cynthia L. Johnson of Wolfeboro, N. H. She was the daughter of Barbara Elizabeth Glasier Davis the daughter of Bradford Davis of Wilton, N. H. She was predeceased by her brother, Daniel Bradford Davis, Jr.

Her career was truly at the intersection of partisan politics and public policy. In 1965, after a year as a young assistant to professors Clark Byse and James Chadbourne at the Harvard Law School, she became the principal assistant to Richard E. Neustadt, the initial Director of the Institute of Politics, an initiative of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government that brings individuals prominent in the public arena to Cambridge for a year's fellowship. She worked closely with Neustadt on the planning and organization of the institute and was staff assistant to the Institute's first group of Fellows in 1966.

The next year she entered the world of partisan politics becoming assistant to Vice President Humphrey's advisor on domestic issues. She worked in the areas of civil rights, employment, and youth training. She also assisted the establishment of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and served as its initial corporate secretary.

After the election she joined the staff of the Democratic National Committee helping establish its Democratic Policy Council and its Office of Communications. At the Policy Council her focus was on its organization, potential membership, and coordination of its meetings and production of reports. This

DEATH NOTICE SMITH

DOLORES ELIZABETH SMITH
(Age 79)
January 3, 1941 - October 30, 2020

Dolores E. Smith, of Washington, DC, passed away peacefully on October 30, 2020, from breast cancer. Her memory is a blessing to many family and friends: her partner of 42 years and wife, Elizabeth S. Lytle; Elizabeth's children, Daniel Goldfrank, Elizabethangle, and Sarah Goldfrank (Aileen Johnson); Elizabeth's grandchildren, Alexandra and Leo; Dolores's brothers, Sam and Fred; beloved nieces, a nephew and cousins; and many cherished friends. Dolores is predeceased by her beloved brother, Jack.

Dolores was a filmmaker known for three films: the documentary SOUTHWEST REMEMBERED, A Story of Urban Renewal; and CLEAN, SOBER & POSITIVE, Recovery and Living with HIV; and a short drama, SARA.

Dolores was an animal lover who dedicated much love and many hours to the care of her own feline companions and several colonies of community cats. Through her work with Humane Rescue Alliance and Alley Cat Allies, Dolores also was responsible for the TNR (trap-neuter-return) of several hundred community cats. We believe Dolores's spirit animal, Old Cat, accompanied her on her journey to the spirit world, where many beloved cats have welcomed her there.

Memorial contributions in tribute to Dolores may be made to the Humane Rescue Alliance (humanerescuealliance.org).

Memorial services will be private.

WALKER

HARRY WALKER, SR.
Passed away peacefully on October 27, 2020 after being hospitalized for a short time. He is survived by his wife of 61 years Helen Walker, one son, Harry Walker, Jr., and three daughters: JoAnne Ash, Catherine Alliss (Robert) and Deborah Sewell (Patrick); three grandchildren: Kenneth Walker, Sr. (Tameika), Kimberly Gass, and Danielle Ash; four great grandchildren: Kenneth Walker, Jr., Kestria Walker, Jason Zaire Johnson, and Devyn Conaway. Visitation: 9:30 a.m. Service: 10:30 a.m. on Monday November 9 2020 at Ft. Lincoln Funeral Home - Brentwood, MD
www.fort-lincoln.com

WHITE



NANCY FOWLER CORREIA WHITE
(Age 78)

Died of Congestive Heart Failure on October 3, 2020 at her home in the Mt. Vernon area of Fairfax County, VA after a long illness. She was born on February 25, 1942 in Missoula, Montana to Francis Fowler and Helen Solberg and grew up in Montana graduating from Missoula County High School. She attended Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington, transferred to the University of Montana in Missoula and received a BA Degree in 1964. She later earned a Master of Telecommunication Policy Degree at George Washington University in Washington, DC.

Following college graduation, she moved to the Washington, D.C. area and worked for the Federal Government, first with the U.S. Coast Guard and later, the Department of Transportation until her retirement in 1992.

In 1966, she married Raymond "Manch" Correia, her college boyfriend, in Missoula who also worked for the Federal Government with the couple settling in the Mount Vernon area of Northern Virginia. Later divorced, she met and married The Rev. James Tracey White, a retired Army Chaplain and former Assistant Rector at Historic Pohick Episcopal Church in Lorton, Virginia in 1999.

Nancy loved to travel and was active with the Shillelagh Travel Club. She was very proud of her athletic ability and good health and would return to Montana in the summers to visit friends and family and hike in the surrounding mountains. She enjoyed living in the Mt. Vernon area and was an active volunteer for many causes including the United Community Ministry charity, and Pohick's Community of Hope Group providing Pastoral Care.

In addition to her parents, she is preceded in death by both husbands and her brother, John A. Fowler. She never had any children of her own but is survived by her Fowler and Solberg cousins and the daughters of her second husband, James White.

A private funeral service with burial will be held at Historic Pohick Church with a larger Memorial Service to be held at a later date. In lieu of flowers, memorial donations may be made to the Mount Vernon United Church, 3301 Richmond Hwy, Lorton, VA 22079.

DEATH NOTICE

CANTRIL

involved setting up regional hearings, including arranging for witnesses, media coverage and the oversight of logistics.

It was the agenda of the Office of Communications in the reorganized DNC, however, that took most of her time. It produced Democratic TV responses to speeches of President Richard Nixon and published a bi-weekly newsletter presenting talking points and issue briefs for Democratic members of Congress, state parties, and state legislatures. She was the DNC's deputy in planning and production of media coverage of the 1972 Convention in Miami and served as deputy coordinator of the DNC's "Mini-Convention" held in Washington that named Sargent Shriver as the Democrat's candidate for Vice President.

As the 1972 campaign got underway, she became assistant to Lawrence O'Brien, Chairman of the McGovern-Shriver campaign. This put her in the midst of planning radio and television spots and working with the staffs of Congressional candidates on the design of their media campaigns. In addition she was assistant editor of a weekly campaign newsletter for Democratic state and local organizations.

But her work at the DNC took an unanticipated turn of historical significance when on the morning of June 17, 1972 she found that she could not get into her office at the Watergate, because it was one of the DNC's offices that had been broken into by covert operatives of the Nixon campaign. This prompted her needing to call a colleague who did not work at the DNC whom she was planning to meet later that morning. She needed to tell him getting together would not be possible because access to the DNC's offices had been cordoned off by police investigating the scene. It turned out that when her colleague learned what had happened, he urged his next door neighbor in Georgetown who was a major correspondent for one of the television networks. Thus, unexpectedly, she had a hand in breaking the Watergate story to the media.

After the election she was a news editor for NBC News for a year working with the network's correspondents and tape and film editors for the Nightly News, Today Show, and NBC radio. In 1973-75 she joined her husband, Albert Cantril, in conducting a number of opinion surveys on topics ranging from the public's reaction to the Watergate break-in, its conduct in government, and how Americans felt about public financing of elections.

When the election calendar began focusing on 1976, she worked with the League of Women Voters in organizing and coordinating the "Presidential Forum" in Boston - the first televised debate among presidential hopefuls in history. She played a similar role in the Chicago Forum and assisted in planning the National Forum. She was responsible for security and credentials for the Presidential Debates in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Williamsburg and the Vice Presidential Debate in Houston. She was also coordinator of debates planning, logistics and arrangements with representatives of the campaigns of President Gerald Ford and Governor Jimmy Carter, the

IN MEMORIAM BLUE



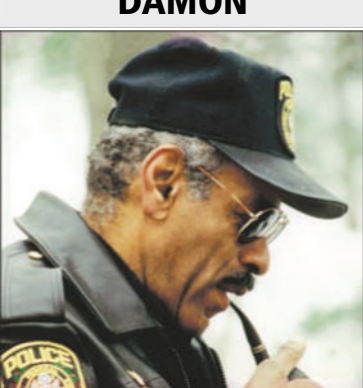
EUNICE VIRGINIA BLUE
In loving memory our beloved Eunice, who passed away November 6, 2017. We love and miss you. Gone, but not forgotten. **The Family**

JOHNSON



RICARDO T. JOHNSON
MSG US Army (Ret.)
It's been two years and not a day goes by that we don't think of you. You will forever be in our hearts. We love and miss you.
Your Wife and Family

DEATH NOTICE DAMON



BERNARD LEE DAMON (Age 79)

A retired Federal Protective Services officer, died October 23, 2020, following a brief illness. Survivors include sisters Lanita D. Williams and Yvonne Angel Graves-Jenkins; nephews Derrick "Pete" Graves, Derrall (Paula) Graves and Darryl Irby; longtime devoted friend Joyce Walker-Tyson; and a host of relatives, colleagues and friends. His mother, Lavolia Warren Graves, adoptive parents Joseph and Margaret Damon and wife Brenda Waters Damon preceded him in death. Visitation 12 noon to 1 p.m. Services to follow at 1 p.m. Saturday, November 7, 2020 at Ralph Williams II Funeral Service, 6503 Branch Ave., Temple Hills, MD. Interment November 17 at Cheltenham Veterans Cemetery.

HUNIGAN



CURTIS A. HUNIGAN (Age 89)

Curtis Hunigan of Severn Park, Maryland peacefully passed away on October 23, 2020. He retired from the US Park Service, and US Air Force Reserve. During retirement he enjoyed time with his family and friends. He was also active member of Plymouth Congregational United Church of Christ and Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. Curtis is survived by his brother Earl (Lazell), son Kevin; several grandchildren, nephews, Kirk (Jane) and Kris. No funeral service. Burial at Arlington National Cemetery will occur at a time to be determined.

DEATH NOTICE

Secret Service, the television networks and debate site representatives. She prepared post-debate chronologies as a record for possible subsequent Presidential Debates.

She returned to public opinion research after the election and teamed up with her husband in studies for government agencies and non-profit organizations. They conducted the first survey for the Department of Labor regarding public service employment and the federal government's role in job creation. They analyzed opinion data regarding the public's perception of the schools for the National Education Association as public discontent with the public education system was building. Other topics included a look at public concerns about water quality for the Council on Environmental Quality, the legal needs of those in Virginia who were eligible for legal aid, and the views of mayors across the country on policy dilemmas they were dealing with conducted for the National League of Cities.

From 1981-86 she served as Development Officer for the Bureau of Social Science Research where she tracked foundation interests relevant to the Bureau's research agenda. She helped shape proposals for projects and secured nearly one million dollars in funding during a period of fierce competition for foundation support. While at the Bureau she directed an assessment of the predictive accuracy of the pre-election polls for the National Science Foundation and assisted in a survey in Puerto Rico on public perceptions of the quality of life. During these years she also served as Secretary of the National Council on Public Polls, an association of the major polling firms in the U.S. She helped its member firms update and publicize a new Code of Disclosure with respect to the methods used in polls they report. She also played a key role in organizing "Polling on the Issues," a conference of pollsters, journalists, and policy makers and in editing its proceedings for publication (1980) with the support of the Kettering Foundation.

She and her husband collaborated on "Reading Mixed Signals: Ambivalence in American Public Opinion about Government" (1999). It is based on a national survey they conducted to explore the paradox that more than half of Americans who complain about the size of government also support most of what it does. Earlier publications with her husband include "The Opinion Connection: Polling, Politics, and the Press" (1991), which explores the interplay between polling, partisan politics, and journalism. They also undertook a large survey for the American Civil Liberties Union on how Americans think about issues of privacy entitled "Live and Let Live: American Public Opinion about Privacy at Home and at Work" (1994).

She graduated from Oberlin College with a major in government and love for France where she spent a semester in Aix-en-Provence. A long-time resident of Capitol Hill, she engaged with the neighbors and was respected for her energy and modesty in spite of her accomplishments. As one resident put it "she was a bright light in the neighborhood." Due to COVID, a memorial celebration of her life will be held at a later date.

DEATH NOTICE MORAN



FRANCIS ANDREW MORAN (Age 64)
On Saturday, October 31, 2020 Andy Moran passed away peacefully in his home in Lady Lake, FL surrounded by his wife, Margot and daughters, Leah, Audrey and Maddie.

Andy was born on December 7, 1955 in Bethesda, MD to Richard and Susan Moran. Andy went to Wooten High School and graduated from, Jacksonville University in Jacksonville, FL with a Bachelor's degree in Business. While at Jacksonville University, he pledged Phi Delta Theta and was a proud and loyal member throughout his whole life.

After college, Andy was recruited to try the insurance and financial planning career which began in 1978 with Fidelity Mutual nationally. He was dedicated to this new career which brought many wonderful long-lasting business friendships. In 1984, Andy was one of the original founding members of The Newport Group where he was a Managing Director. He was one of the largest and consistent producers. He retired in 2016, due to the beginning of his illness.

In 1985 he and his brother, Rick Moran formed a partnership which lasted till 2000, which also led to investing in Storage facilities. He helped develop Fort Knox Self Storage in Central Florida.

Among his many hobbies of hunting, fishing, and traveling, polo was his favorite, which was introduced to him by his father at an early age of 13. This followed him throughout the rest of his life. He was instrumental in being one of the founding members of The Villages Polo Club, where he played and sponsored many teams.

Andy is survived by his wife, Margot; his daughters Leah Moran True (Justin) of Spring Hill, TN, Audrey Moran of Jacksonville, FL and Madeleine Moran Hughes (Justin) of Wildwood, FL; and four grandchildren, Kameron and Ashton Hughes, Jaxson Wade, and Kinsley True; brothers Richard Duncan Moran of England, and Richard Peter Moran, Jr. of N. Potomac, MD, sisters Jennifer Moran Manders of Potomac, MD, Martha Moran Meyer of Germantown, NY, Phoebe Moran Manders of Potomac, MD, Rebecca Moran Jackson of Murfreesboro, TN. He was predeceased by his parents Richard and Susan Moran and brother Peter Lee Moran.

Service private. In lieu of flowers, donations can be made in Andy's name to Cornerstone Foundation (Hospice), 2445 Lane Park Road, Tavares, FL 32778.

NEWELL



BEATRICE NEWELL
Beloved mother and grandmother peacefully passed away on October 20, 2020. Family will welcome friends Saturday, November 7, 2020 at Emmanuel Baptist Church, 2409 Ainger Pl., S.E. Washington, DC. Visitation 10 a.m. until time of service at 11 a.m. Interment Lincoln Memorial Cemetery.
www.johnsonandjenkinsfh.com

SLACK



JAMES R. SLACK, III
January 14, 1975 - October 27, 2020
James Robert Slack III, 45, too soon and deeply missed, his family was his pride and joy. He is survived by his wife, Kelly Slack; his children: Lauren, Shawn, Justin and Willa-James; and his grandchildren: Clea, Canan, and Brooklyn. A celebration of life will be held at a later date. Condolences may be sent to
www.rosedalefuneral.com

STOGIS



PETER DOUGLAS STOGIS
Peter Douglas Stogis passed away on October 22, 2020 at the age of 84. He is survived by his loving and grieving wife of 17 years, Joan Stogis, and by many friends from his long active life.

Born in Detroit in 1936, Peter grew up in the Chicago, IL area. As an undergraduate at Purdue University, Peter joined an ROTC program focused on aviation. After graduation in 1956, Peter began his US Navy career as a pilot. Yes, he did see the world; Peter was stationed in

THE WEATHER

WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WEATHER • TWITTER: @CAPITALWEATHER • FACEBOOK.COM/CAPITALWEATHER

Sunny and warm

The workweek will end on a warm note, with Friday looking almost entirely sunny. Temperatures should be similar to those seen Thursday, with highs topping out close to 70 in most spots. Expect light winds from the southwest, blowing about 5 mph.

Today
Mostly sunny



74° 49°

FEELS*: 74°

CHNCE PRECIP: 0%

WIND: SW 4-8 mph

HUMIDITY: Moderate

Saturday
Sunny



74° 53°

FEELS: 75°

P: 0%

W: SW 3-6 mph

H: Moderate

Sunday
Partly sunny



73° 57°

FEELS: 73°

P: 5%

W: S 4-8 mph

H: Moderate

Monday
Partly sunny



73° 59°

FEELS: 73°

P: 10%

W: SSW 6-12 mph

H: Moderate

Tuesday
Mostly cloudy



75° 66°

FEELS: 75°

P: 10%

W: SSW 7-14 mph

H: High

Wednesday
Rain



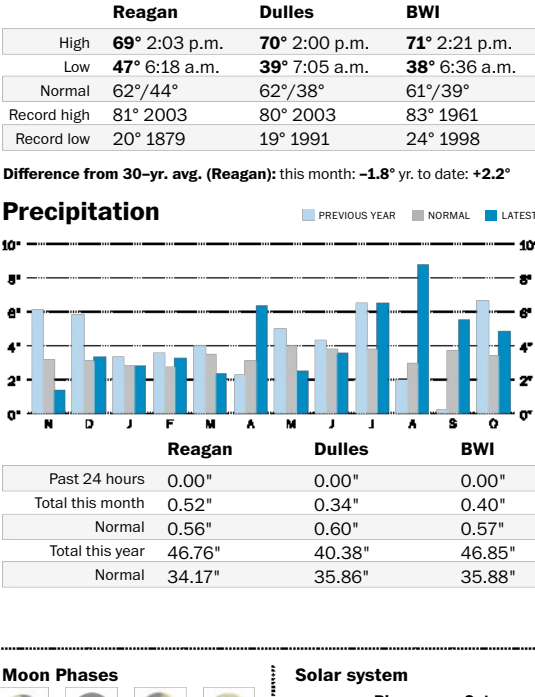
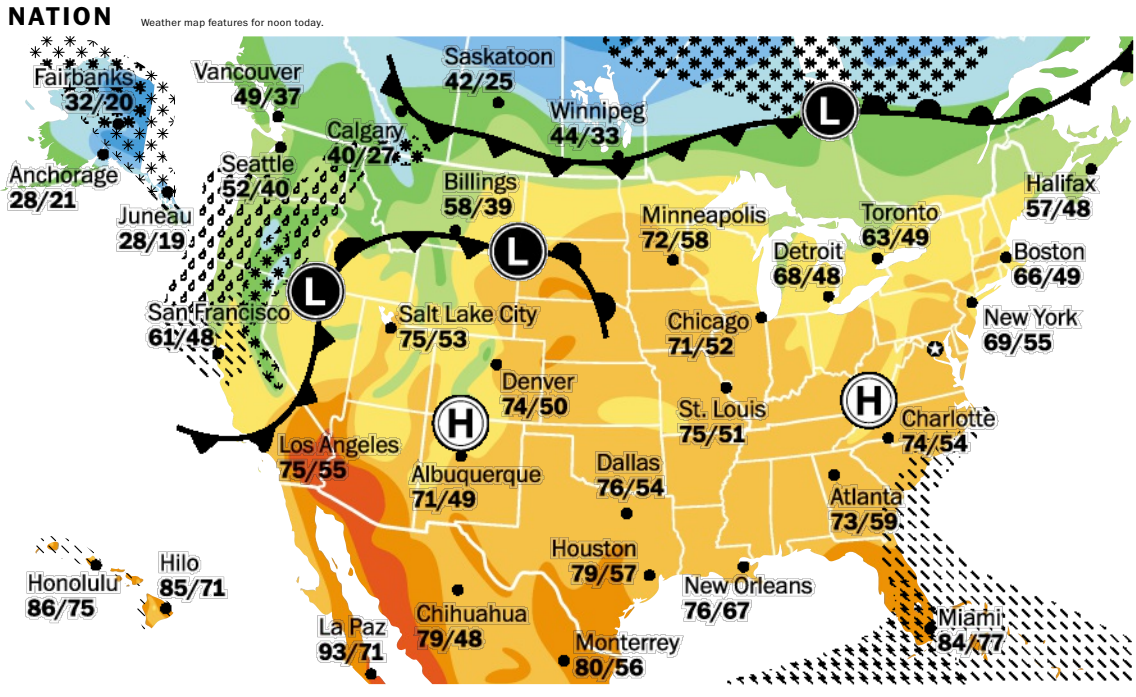
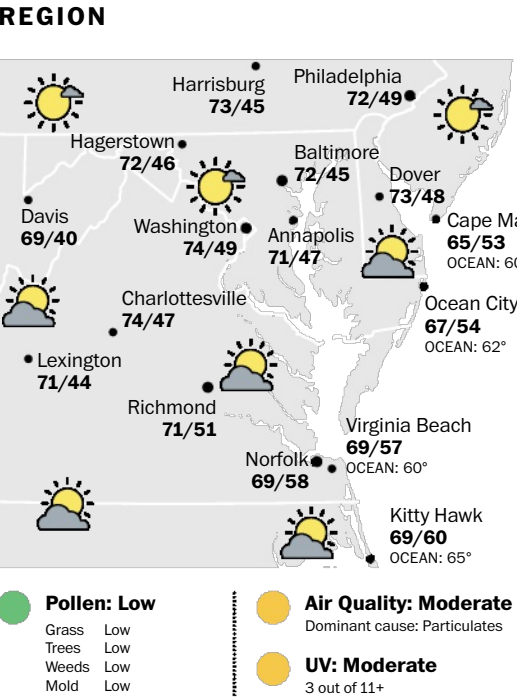
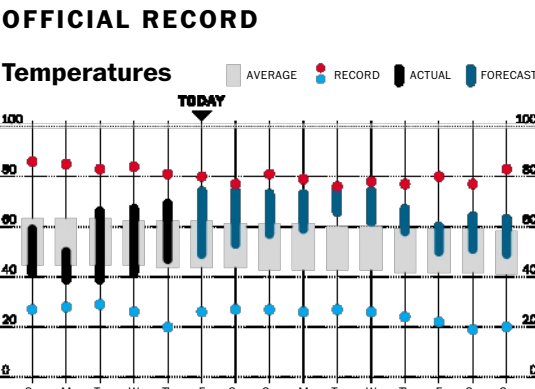
74° 62°

FEELS: 74°

P: 35%

W: S 7-14 mph

H: High



RemodelUSA Inc

Complete Kitchen Remodeling

STRICTLY FOLLOWING CDC GUIDELINES

No Payment No Interest 'til 2021!

Financing As Low As \$149 Per Month

Buy Now and Save \$2000

limited time offers other restrictions may apply

Quality You Can Afford

Superior Service | Years of Experience

FREE Consultation | FREE Design | FREE Estimates

202-741-4431 DC | 703-382-8414 VA | 301-683-7920 MD

MHIC #125450 | DC #67004413 | VA #2705 108835A | WVA #036832

TURN YOUR UNUSED BASEMENT INTO YOUR FAVORITE ROOM IN ABOUT 2 WEEKS!

OWENS CORNING BASEMENT FINISHING SYSTEM

- Thermal & Acoustic Insulation for Comfort and Quiet
- Resists Mold & Mildew*
- Durable, Dent-Resistant & Maintenance Free Walls
- Easy Access to Foundation, Pipes & Electrical Boxes
- Limited Lifetime Warranty
- Class A Fire Rating • Paintable Walls

PAYMENTS AS LOW AS \$149

202-794-8188 • 703-910-3653 • 301-841-8180

Ask about Showcase Home Program Discount!

\$2500 OFF

COMPLETE FINISHED BASEMENT

Valid with coupon only. New customers only. Not valid with other promotional offers or on previously scheduled projects. Please present coupon at time of appointment.

Remodel USA Inc

MHC #125450
DC #67004413
VA #2705 108835A

KOHLER. Walk-In Bath

Step Into Comfort, Safety And Luxury

Exclusive Limited-Time Offer

50% OFF

PROFESSIONAL INSTALLATION of Your KOHLER® Walk-in Bath*

\$\$\$ FINANCING AVAILABLE Ask About Our Flexible Payment Plans

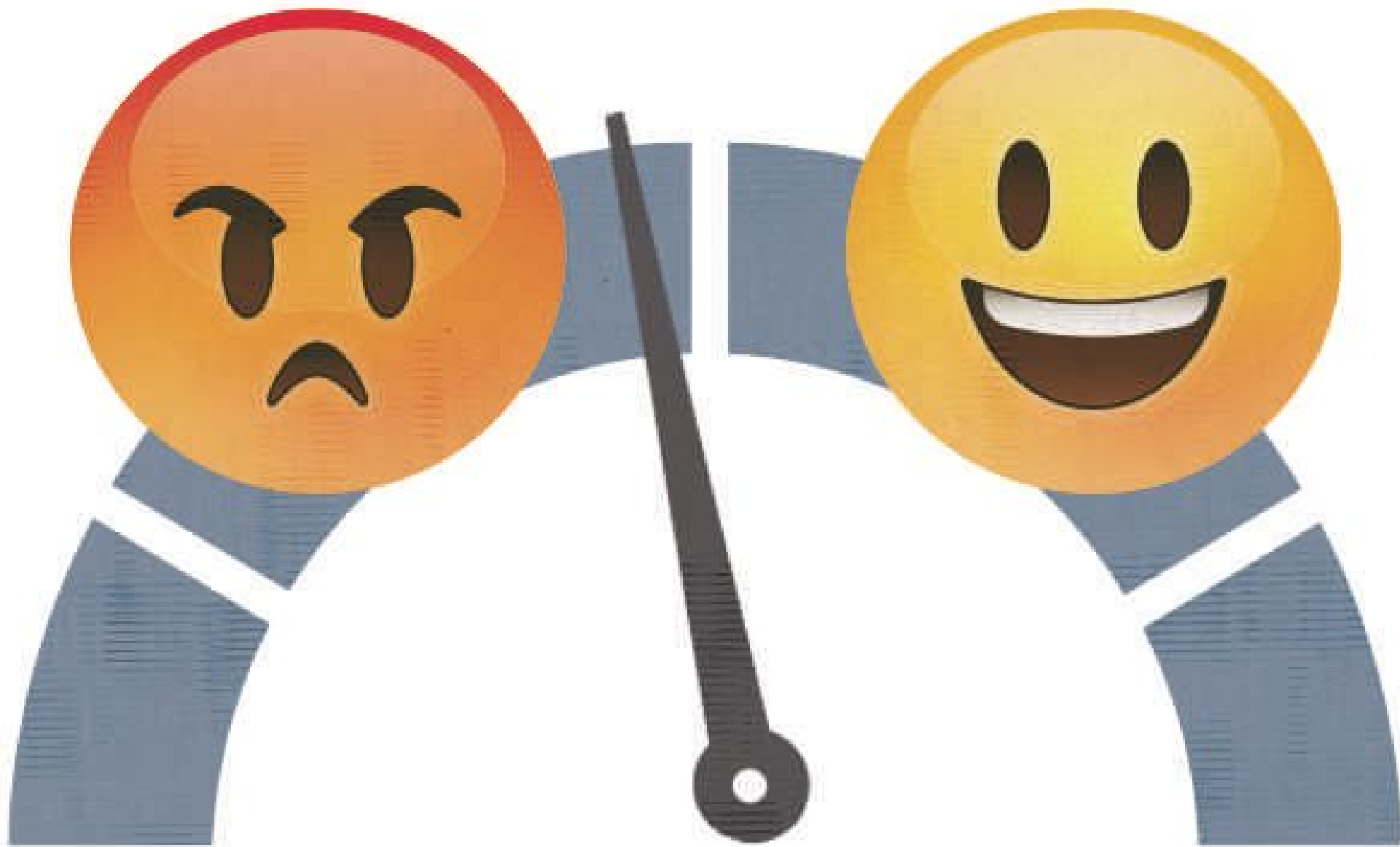
Call for your FREE quote and save today!

(703) 650-9337 (202) 919-9209 (301) 778-4222

*Walk-In Bath installed in as little as a day. Financing available to qualified purchasers. Contact your local dealer for financing details. Limited time offer. Valid through November 30, 2020, at participating dealers only. Not available in AK; HI; Nassau City, NY; Suffolk City, NY; Westchester City, NY; and Buffalo City, NY. Also may not be available in other areas. 50% off installation with purchase of KOHLER Belay Walk-In Bath. Cannot be combined with any other advertised offer.



ELECTION 2020



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK

Lib tears won't cure ugly illness in the GOP



Monica Hesse

While we're all stuck with the hold music of electoral ballots, here's an interlude to examine four words that have become both a tribal slogan and

an expansive explanation of the thunderdome in which we currently find ourselves: "Make liberals cry again."

"Let's make liberals cry again!" Donald Trump Jr., the saddest adult son, encouraged crowds at an election-eve rally in Wisconsin. His father, meanwhile, went on to a different Midwestern rally to fondly reminisce about the time in 2016 when liberal women wept at the announcement of his victory: "At the end of the evening when they're all crying, and I remember they were crying," he asked Grand Rapids, Mich. "Remember?"

On Tuesday night, 25-year-old Republican Madison Cawthorn won a North Carolina district and, in his first public act as a future U.S. congressman, tweeted: "Cry more, lib."

"MAKE LIBERALS CRY AGAIN," reads a whole mess of muscle T's and travel mugs and baby onesies for sale on Etsy.

To point out that this is juvenile and mean and weird doesn't get at the half of it. "Make liberals cry again" is the more synergistic, ball-cap-friendly version of "Own the libs." A version of "Make America Great Again" that does away with the gauzy nostalgia and goes right for the bad sportsmanship. It is the version one uses when one wants to drop the pretense that this is about America at all and just acknowledge that it's about reveling in someone else's pain and perceived humiliation.

"Cry" is the most deliberate word in the phrase. It could have been subbed out for "pay." *Make liberals pay again.* That phrase would imply that liberals had done something bad, requiring retribution. It could have been subbed out for "lose," which would be a little gratuitous but still within the technical vocabulary of competition.

"Make them cry" turns the phrase specifically into a narrative of power. The

SEE HESSE ON C3

The needle and the damage done

The Nates and a nation for which one poll is too many and a million isn't enough

BY BEN TERRIS

It may be time to break up with the Nates. They promised they'd changed. They promised they wouldn't hurt us anymore. Or were they causing us to hurt ourselves? Either way, polling gurus Nate Silver of FiveThirtyEight and Nate Cohn of the New York Times keep producing data sets that lead to the same outcome: heartburn.

Let's put aside for a moment who is right and who was wrong. Certainly there is plenty to be said in defense of the Nates: They are working with the data they are given, and if we just *calmed down* and didn't get so *emotional* about everything all the time, we might get a grip on the difference between a probability and a promise.

"I'm a control freak, so I always need to know all of the information that exists so I can feel like I am in control of a situation," says Jon Favreau, the former Obama speechwriter and current liberal podcaster.

But does having an insatiable poll habit actually make him feel more or less in control?

So maybe it's not them. Maybe it's us, and our addiction to election needles and red-and-blue maps of counties that we only just learned about, like, two Magic Wall segments ago. Maybe we're too scrambled by hope to see a favorable

forecast as anything but a foregone conclusion — a *Nate accompli* if you will — and too prone to disappointment to see an unlikely occurrence as anything but a system failure.

Either way, it's not clear the Nates are good for anyone's health.

"To a large extent, it's our own fault," says Terry Sullivan, a Republican operative. "But they are the street dealer of the drug — polling — that so many people find themselves addicted to."

Neither Nate immediately responded for a request for comment. Though to be fair, they're both pretty busy at the moment.

Let's back up a million Magic Wall segments ago to Tuesday, when followers of both Nates went into the evening secretly feeling like prophets: They knew Democrats had a great shot at winning the Senate. They knew, per FiveThirtyEight, that Joe Biden had an 89 percent chance of winning the White House. They knew, as the ballot counts rolled in in real time, the odds in not one but *three* key swing states at any given moment, thanks to the "election needles" on the Times's website.

"This is way smarter than the 2016 needle," Cohn crowed on Twitter. (Never mind that thousands of people nearly overdosed on a similar needle in 2016.)

"People get led astray on a night like last night by

SEE NATES ON C2

Trump's no-count friends at Fox News



Margaret Sullivan

Back in March, President Trump said something out loud that many of his supporters — even if they secretly agreed — would prefer to

downplay.

"The things they had in there were crazy," he told "Fox & Friends" about a covid-19 relief bill that included provisions about making voting easier. "They had levels of voting that if you agreed to it, you'd never have a Republican elected in the country again."

Eight tumultuous months later, the effort to extinguish, or tamper with, voting integrity is at the heart of his last-ditch efforts to claim a win. "STOP THE COUNT," Trump nonsensically tweeted Thursday morning.

And no surprise: Fox News is pulling out all the stops to help. The powerful Murdoch-controlled network, which handily won the election-night ratings war, is giving this evidence-free argument everything it's got — especially on the prime-time commentary shows that feature Tucker Carlson, Sean Hannity and Laura Ingraham.

But the network's vaunted news coverage, which Fox likes to claim is, in the old motto, "fair and balanced," is doing its part, too — though in a lower key.

Almost anything would be a lower key, though, than Hannity. On his show Wednesday night, a headline screamed "Corrupt Institutions" as he was busy hammering the supposed disgrace in Pennsylvania's vote counting.

"Tonight every American should be angry, outraged and worried and concerned about what happened in the election and the lead-up to the election," he raged.

Meanwhile, in reality, the Pennsylvania count was going on with remarkable transparency and competence. As my colleague Karen Heller reported from Philadelphia: "There they were, a battery of temporary workers in hazmat-like safety vests of yellow with orange and gray stripes, sipping soda and slurping coffee, working under blue signs that

SEE SULLIVAN ON C2

BOOK WORLD

Climbing the ladder to take in the heir up there

BY LELAND CHEUK

From "The Great Gatsby" to "The Talented Mr. Ripley," novels about social climbing and high society never seem to go out of style. Edith Wharton's "The House of Mirth" is a classic of this prolific category, and Susie Yang's debut novel, "White Ivy," so echoes Wharton's best-known book that even the protagonist's name, Ivy Lin, sounds like Lily Bart.



WHITE IVY
By Susie Yang
Simon & Schuster.
368 pp. \$26

Like Wharton's famed debutante, Ivy aims to marry into wealth. Desperate to escape her abusive Chinese immigrant parents whose child-rearing methods are described as "corpo-

ral punishment followed by an excess of kindness," Ivy targets Gideon Speyer, a blond-haired scion of New England blue bloods whose every move signifies to her success and higher breeding.

In an effective early scene, at Gideon's birthday party in the Speyers' "handsome glass and stone manor," Ivy, still in high school, compares the house to her parents' low-income apartment.

"Her own apartment in Fox Hill, she'd always thought of as a place where she ate and slept, a place that belonged to no one, not her, not her family. But Gideon clearly did not share this viewpoint of his house. All the rooms, the furniture, the such-and-such knickknacks they'd bought on various vacations, were 'mine' or 'ours'; he had ownership over everything. Ownership, Ivy noticed, had a very specific sound."

Years later, Ivy, a first-grade teacher in Boston, runs into Gideon's socialite sister, Sylvia, putting her again in the orbit of her ro-



ONUR PINAR PHOTOGRAPHY

Susie Yang follows in the tradition of Fitzgerald, Highsmith and Wharton with her look at class, money and love, "White Ivy."

mantic target, who has grown to be a successful entrepreneur, "named one of Forbes 30 under 30 two years in a row." They begin dating, and Gideon invites Ivy to the Speyers' seaside cottage to meet the family, where she discovers that Roux Roman, her childhood neighbor and first lover, is Sylvia's boyfriend. Roux, who grew up on Ivy's side of the tracks, has also become rich, though the source of his wealth is rumored to be tied to organized crime. Blunt and confrontational, Roux is the polar opposite of genteel Gideon. Taught by her famine-hardened grandmother that one had to be opportunistic to survive, Ivy finds Roux's hardscrabble edginess irresistible. By the end of the vacation, Ivy is engaged to Gideon while having an affair with Roux.

Roux resembles another classic Wharton character — Elmer Mofatt from "The Custom of the Country." An ambitious, successful man, he disdains the high soci-

SEE BOOK WORLD ON C2

The Nates said they had our number before the election. Now we have theirs.

NATES FROM C1

vacillating space needles,” says Jesse Ferguson, a former Hillary Clinton spokesman.

Ferguson was there at the Javits Center in New York as the original needle dived right into a dramatic Donald Trump upset. He says he didn’t once look at FiveThirtyEight or the Times’s Upshot page this year.

Not that he judges people for feeling the need to do so. It’s only human.

“We pretend we know what’s going to happen because often the fear of the unknown is emotionally worse than deciding you know something even if you might be wrong,” he says.

Timeout for some relationship therapy: Let’s look at some of the many ways that we and the Nates and the surrounding Nate Industrial Complex did wrong by one another.

In a recent poll, The Washington Post estimated that Biden was leading in Wisconsin by 17 points. Biden appears to have won by less than one point. “That is not just wrong, that is holy s--- wrong,” said Frank Luntz, a Republican pollster. “That’s malpractice wrong.”

“We are taking time after the election to review all our polling, including why our October Wisconsin poll overestimated Biden’s support, and will use the findings to strengthen future polling,” Molly Gannon Conway, communications manager at The Post, wrote in an emailed statement. (She added that the balance of The Post’s polling was accurate and pointed to a Florida poll indicating a margin favoring Trump within one point of where he stands at the moment.)

If you went into the night pretty sure that Sens. Susan Collins of Maine, Joni Ernst of Iowa and



KRISTA KENNELL/PATRICK MCMULLAN/GETTY IMAGES

Nate Silver of FiveThirtyEight. It might be time to end our toxic relationship with election forecasters such as him and that other Nate from the New York Times. But it’s not necessarily their fault.

Thom Tillis of North Carolina would be sent packing, you were not alone. But you were also not correct. All of them appear to have outperformed the polls. By a lot.

There are still plenty of votes coming in across the country that could cause these misses to creep closer to the margin of error. (“It is premature to make sweeping judgments on the polls’ overall performance before all the ballots are counted,” read a news release sent Thursday by the American Association for Public Opinion Research.) Still, even if Biden becomes president, polls in various states including Florida, Texas and Ohio made him look a lot stronger than he proved to be.

And so while the election returns revealed a country divided, it made Democrats and Republicans more unified than ever in their bipartisan contempt for the polls.

“These polls are not to be trusted,” Van Jones, a Democratic commentator, said on CNN. “There is something wrong with the polling industry.”

“VERY STRANGE,” President Trump tweeted Wednesday morning. “The ‘pollsters’ got it completely & historically wrong!”

It has, pollsters will tell you, gotten harder and harder to poll in general. Fewer people have landlines, and who in their right mind picks up a call from an

unknown number these days, unless they are curious about international scam centers. *What are your views of President Trump’s handling of the economy? And what is your Social Security number?*

But the past two election cycles have made it clear that there is a specific difficulty when it comes to reaching Trump supporters, who appear to have been undercounted in polls all across the country. “They’ve come to see pollsters as people who disrespect them,” Luntz says.

Luntz says he has tried to counter that problem by including new language in his surveys: “People like you have complained for

years that nobody listens to you and nobody cares what you think,” he says he asks. “Here’s your chance to be heard.”

So where are the Nates in all this? They may not have been responsible for the bad polling — they assess the quality of polls and aggregate their wisdom — but that doesn’t necessarily absolve them of contributing to our collective freakout. New York Times Nate gave regular updates on his pseudo-sentient laboratory creation. “Biden is still a very narrow favored in the view of the needle,” he tweeted Wednesday, interpreting the oracle’s murmurings about Georgia. And as results trickled in throughout the night, commentary trickled out on Twitter from FiveThirtyEight Nate.

“I have nonpublic version of our paths-to-270 interactive where I can enter in provisional ratings instead of calling states outright,” Nate Silver tweeted at 5 a.m. “If you treat NV, AZ and WI as ‘likely Biden,’ NC as ‘likely Trump,’ and GA, PA and MI as ‘toss-up,’ then Biden is 83% to win eventually.”

“I am now a single issue voter,” tweeted journalist Heidi Moore, “and that issue is ‘stop Nate Silver from sharing every statistical hot take.’”

Ruth Bernstein, a Democratic pollster in California, says polling has become “too much of the news.” So much of the coverage she says is about the horse race instead of the issues, and more than that, the predictive polling may even have an effect on the voting itself. “If the Nates say that Trump only has a 10 percent chance of winning, maybe a voter in Michigan decides he doesn’t want to go out in a pandemic and decides to sit this one out,” she said.

Okay, but where are we, the

bulb-eyed Nate watchers, in this feedback loop? Not so innocent ourselves. Perhaps we hate the Nates because we hate the polls, and we hate the polls because we hate ourselves. Maybe we’re looking for something the Nates can’t give us.

“We are having to confront what we know about America,” says Connie Schultz, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and the wife of Sen. Sherrod Brown (D-Ohio). “We learned that it was not going to be this massive repudiation of all this horrible stuff that has been coming out of Donald Trump’s administration, and in fact, many people are quite fine with it, far more than the polling told us.”

So maybe we should just call it quits — for ourselves and for everyone else, says Jess McIntosh, a former Clinton 2016 staffer. “The less time we all spend playing pundit,” she says, “the healthier our democracy will be.”

In the end, the Nates will certainly find a way to tell us they were right all along. Biden does look as if he’s going to have a good shot at the White House, and in the end, that might be enough for voters to memory-hole the toxic parts of the relationship and come running back in two or four years.

“If you’re coming after FiveThirtyEight,” Silver said in a FiveThirtyEight podcast Wednesday, “Then the answer is: F--- you. We did a good job.”

He had defenders.

“For the record, national polls were at +8 for Biden, down from +11 earlier in Oct., so the final national vote margin may not be too much lower than this final 538 estimate,” a Louisiana professor tweeted Wednesday.

The professor’s name was Nathan Kalmoe. But as far as we’re concerned, you can call him Nate. *benjamin.terris@washpost.com*

Susie Yang introduces a climbing, invasive Ivy

BOOK WORLD FROM C1

ety and generational wealth that the Speyers represent. When he threatens to reveal their affair to Gideon, Ivy’s entrapped just as Lily Bart was.

While the decline of Lily Bart is one of the great tragedies of American literature, Ivy’s fall feels lurid, like watching a reality-show train wreck spiral from one bad decision to the next. In 1905, when “The House of Mirth” was published, women were unable to vote or choose high-earning careers. In 2020, Ivy could devote her energies to becoming a great teacher or lawyer, which she considers briefly until she bombs the LSAT and realizes she never had any interest in law to begin with. In short, the impoverished Lily Bart needs to marry rich while middle-class Ivy Lin chooses to.

Few and far between are the relationships that might have elevated Ivy beyond her self-destructive narcissism. She could help her brother, who struggles with depression, or seek counsel from her grandmother, but she does neither. When her roommate announces her own engagement to a billionaire, Ivy, hardly listening, hilariously responds that she’s going to make a sandwich. The publisher bills “White Ivy”

as a debut that “turns the immigrant novel on its head,” but it’s unclear how the Lins’s immigration status seeds Ivy’s obsession with the Speyers. Ironically, by the time Ivy is engaged to Gideon, the Lins and the Speyers aren’t even that different: Ivy’s parents have become well-off, too.

While the title seems to allude to Ivy coveting Whiteness, neither she nor any of the characters seem to register the racial or gendered implications of their actions. The closest Ivy comes to doing so is when she thinks: “the most fragile inner parts of a woman were compiled from a million subtle looks and careless statements from others; this was identity. The desire for a different identity had made [her mother] ruin a man, marry another” — a fate that Ivy puts herself in position to repeat.

Even in the absence of more incisive social commentary, “White Ivy” is still a highly entertaining, well-plotted character study about a young woman whose obsession with the shallow signifiers of success gets her in too deep.

bookworld@washpost.com

Leland Cheuk is the author of “No Good Very Bad Asian,” “The Misadventures of Sulliver Pong” and “Letters From Dinosaurs.”

MARGARET SULLIVAN

Trump says ‘Jump’ and Fox says ‘How low?’

SULLIVAN FROM C1

read ‘Scanners,’ ‘Sorters,’ ‘Envelope Review,’ ‘Adjudication,’ ‘Flattening’ and ‘Extractors.’”

The Philadelphia City Commission, in charge of elections, “is making the system so transparent that it’s live-streaming the drama.”

But on Hannity’s radio show, his guest, the disgraced former Fox host Bill O’Reilly, was suggesting sending in the FBI to stop that count.

And Fox Business anchor Maria Bartiromo, as always, was willing to go the extra mile for Trump. She was fretting Wednesday about whether the Trump administration “has the policing in place to make sure that America will feel we have gotten a safe and fair election.”

Carlson, for his part, complained that the “outcome of our presidential election was seized from the hands of voters” and given over to “clearly

corrupted city bureaucrats.” This is a tried-and-true strategy for Trump and his allies, of course — and really the only one left at this point. The elements are all too familiar: No necessary adherence to the truth. (Yes, we call that lying these days.) The use of tiny, dubious facts blown up to make a false whole. The reliance on emotionally loaded words and misleading catchphrases like “the Russia hoax” or the “migrant invasion.”

“Propaganda works through repetition, market saturation, synchronized messaging,” wrote Ruth Ben-Ghiat, author of a book about authoritarian leaders and their methods, “Strongmen: Mussolini to the Present.”

Fox News touts its non-commentary shows, the news programming that dominates the day, as right down the middle. And you’ll hear this

directly from the anchors themselves.

“We cover both sides,” Bret Baier said Wednesday in keeping with Fox’s party line — a form of propaganda in itself.

In general, Fox’s election coverage itself has been measured and restrained; Chris Wallace’s presence tends to help with that. And, to her credit, news anchor Martha MacCallum could be heard pushing back on Trump press secretary Kayleigh McEnany’s illogic about how to count the vote in Pennsylvania.

Separately, Fox’s decision desk, in its early call of Arizona for Biden, made it much tougher for the president to claim victory on Tuesday night. And there was plenty of Trump pushback on that, but to no avail.

So it’s not a uniform picture at Fox. But that doesn’t change the overall reality.

Baier on Wednesday managed

The elements are all too familiar: No necessary adherence to the truth. (Yes, we call that lying these days.) The use of tiny, dubious facts blown up to make a false whole. The reliance on emotionally loaded words and misleading catchphrases like “the Russia hoax” or the “migrant invasion.”

THEATER REVIEW

Studio Theatre’s audio-only ‘Kings’ intrigues but falls flat without a stage

BY CELIA WREN

Rep. Sydney Millsap has the smarts and integrity to turn canapés into a tag line. An abrasive but idealistic congresswoman, Millsap — a pivotal character in Sarah Burgess’s play “Kings” — makes the words “little pieces of salmon” a campaign catchphrase when she runs for the Senate, ridiculing her political colleagues’ reliance on appetizer-heavy fundraisers. In Studio Theatre’s audio-drama production, actor Gina Daniels infuses the slogan with a delectable mixture of snark, exasperation and weariness, seasoned with a grain of despair.

Daniels’s funny, evocative vocal choices are a highlight of the brisk, often funny but intermittently flat audio play, streaming free on Studio’s website. Studio staged Burgess’s taut drama about lobbying and systemic political corruption in 2018, with Marti Lyons directing. I missed that production, so I was glad for the in-your-ears adaptation, which Lyons also directs. The play has obvious timeliness. And the audio adaptation turns out to

benefit not only from Daniels’s pitch-perfect delivery but also from that of Rick Foucheux, who plays Sen. John McDowell, a jaded habitué of the political swamp. Still, despite these acting turns, the topicality and the script’s keen intelligence — Burgess respects her audience enough to make the carried-interest tax loophole a key plot point — the production tantalizes rather than satisfies, not unlike those little pieces of salmon.

At its best, audio drama can be one of the most rewarding workarounds to the theater field’s pandemic quandary, allowing listeners’ imaginations to fill in visuals more richly than a computer image might. And there are intriguing scenes and settings to envisage in “Kings,” which tells of Millsap’s quest to defy special interests and legislate in a way that will actually benefit the country. Reluctantly hobnobbing with high-powered lobbyists such as Kate (Kelly McCrann) and Lauren (Laura C. Harris), Millsap attends insider-y gatherings such as a Vail fundraiser with a make-your-own-s’mores session. Sound designer Mikhail



STUDIO THEATRE

The cast of “Kings” in a videoconference recording session for Studio Theatre’s audio adaptation of the play. Studio staged Sarah Burgess’s drama about lobbying and systemic political corruption in 2018.

Fiksel helps conjure such environments with background murmurs, rustling papers, a suitcase rolling across a Four Seasons lobby and more.

Reprising their roles from the

2018 staging, McCrann and Harris turn in confident performances whetted by fine timing, bringing out the wit in Burgess’s cynically funny script. “You have to talk about the Middle East

with the guy who inherited the Krispy Kreme doughnut fortune,” Lauren informs McDowell at a Walt Disney World shindig packed with influence peddlers. Unfortunately, the portrait of the

lobbyists ultimately suffers because McCrann’s and Harris’s voices and diction are not different enough to create the contrast audio drama needs: It sometimes takes a bit to figure out who’s talking.

Moreover, this play about mercenary transactions smoothed by in-person connection — schmoozing, glad-handing, selling out over hors d’oeuvres — may suffer from the lack of in-person presence. In this sound-only production, the story registers as a tad blunt and obvious, qualities that might not have manifested in an onstage production, where physical expressiveness, charisma and visible chemistry would deepen our understanding of actions and relationships. The “Kings” audio play makes a damning case that big money pollutes American democracy. But didn’t we know that already?

style@washpost.com

Kings, by Sarah Burgess. Directed by Marti Lyons; audio engineer, Ben Truppin-Brown; with Brian Quijada. About 100 minutes. Free. Streaming at studiotheatre.org.

For more by Margaret Sullivan visit wapo.st/sullivan

MONICA HESSE

Less about winning, more about humiliation

HESSE FROM C1

president and his followers are so very strong and manly that they can make the liberals lose control of their emotions in the most helpless, ineffectual way. The liberals are babies, maybe, or even worse — feminine. To be made to cry is not about losing or paying. It is about humiliating. It is about strong people humiliating the people they see as weak, for the fun of it and because they can.

“Again” is the second-most interesting word in the phrase. It turns the sentence into a narrative with some backstory: The strong people (alpha conservatives) made the weak people (weak-kneed libs) cry before, and things were as they should be. With “make,” it’s clear this return to form will happen by force if necessary.

“Make liberals cry again” has nothing to do with the issues that were metaphorically on the ballot this election. It has nothing to do with the coronavirus. It has nothing do with health care. It is not related to lifting restrictions on businesses or lowering taxes or ending abortion or accomplishing any of the other tasks that Trump supporters solemnly told exit pollsters they came to do on Election Day.

“Make liberals cry again” is the version of “Make America Great Again” that does away with the gauzy nostalgia and goes right for the bad sportsmanship. It is the version one uses when one wants to drop the pretense that this is about America at all and just acknowledge that it’s about reveling in someone else’s pain.



EVAN VUCCI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

It is a successful slogan because it transcends the issues. It does not require a set of coherent policy positions, nor bootstrapping grit, nor pious restraint. Just a strong desire to



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: “Let’s make liberals cry again!” was Donald Trump Jr.’s policy proposal with his dad at a rally Monday in Kenosha, Wis. **LEFT:** Backers of the president in Gettysburg, Pa., in early October.

kick sand in the face of a beaten opponent. *The cruelty*, as Adam Serwer famously wrote in the Atlantic, *is the point*.

“Make liberals cry again” is also the most succinct example of why Trumpism won’t end, even if Trump’s time in office is ended for him. When the goal is not victory but humiliation, there is no way to tell when the game is over. It’s not necessarily over when the Supreme Court is stacked, it’s not over

when *Roe v. Wade* is overturned. It’s not over when all of Barack Obama’s executive orders have been repealed or when Hillary Clinton goes to jail.

It’s not over, ever, because liberals can always be made to cry more, and longer. Long after Trump’s followers have forgotten why this was the goal, or what they gave up in order to achieve it, they can still make a liberal cry, again and again and again — a medicine for an ailment they will never cure.

monica.hesse@washpost.com

Monica Hesse is a columnist writing about gender and its impact on society. For more, visit wapo.st/hesse.

FLOORING SALE

Get **60% OFF** All

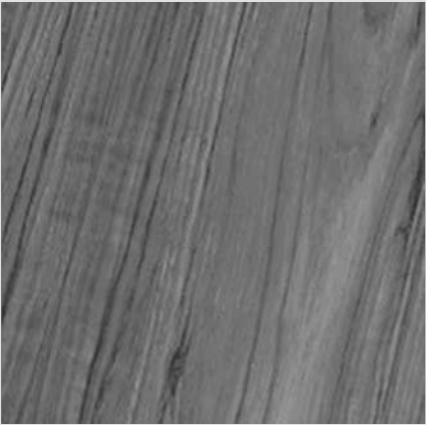
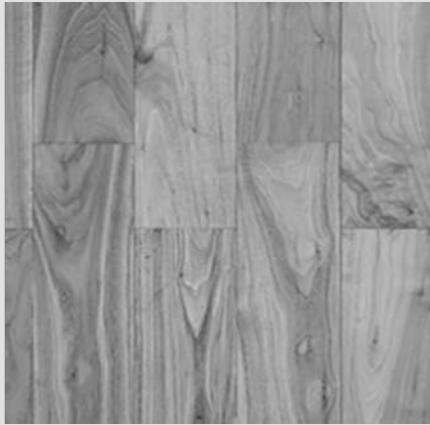
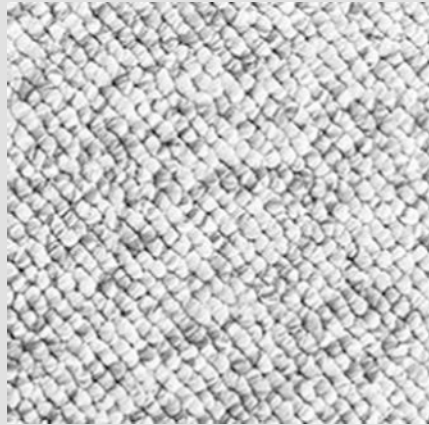
CARPET

HARDWOOD

LAMINATE

VINYL

TILE



Mention Promo Code **“WAPO”**
To Save An Additional **\$100**

CALL TODAY!

855-997-0612



50 FLOOR™



Sale Applies To All Carpet, Hardwood, Laminate, Tile and Vinyl. Offer Good Through November 30, 2020.

TELEVISION

TV HIGHLIGHTS



Country Ever After (Netflix) Country singer Coffey Anderson and hip-hop dancer Criscilla raise their children and navigate their country-vs.-city perspectives on life and parenting in this new reality series.

The Oprah Conversation (Apple TV Plus) Oprah interviews Stevie Wonder about his use of music to spread hope and his thoughts about the current racial divide affecting the country and the immediate need for change.

20/20 (ABC at 9) More than a decade after wife and mother Susan Powell vanished from her Utah home, “20/20” reports on the mysterious case. The program includes new interviews with Powell’s friends, family members and detectives on the case.

Warrior (Cinemax at 10) Ah Sahm, Young Jun and Hong head to a border town owned by the host of a lucrative fight tournament.

Real Time with Bill Maher (HBO at 11) Guests include Tristan Harris, Malcolm Nance, Rosa Brooks.

MOVIES
Citation (Netflix) A bright student in Nigeria takes on the academic establishment when she reports a popular professor who tried to rape her.

The Endless Trench (Netflix) Fearing retribution, a Republican from the Spanish Civil War hides in his home

for more than 30 years with the help of his wife in a story based on true events.

Ferro (Amazon Prime) A documentary series about Italian singer Tiziano Ferro and a new chapter of his life after turning 40.

The Christmas Yule Blog (Lifetime at 8) Caroline, a well-known travel writer, is given the assignment to cover a 100-year-old Christmas parade in New Mexico, where she meets a music teacher who introduces her to a new side of Christmas.

LATE NIGHT
Daily Show/Noah (Comedy Central at 11) The Daily Social Distancing Show.

Tonight Show/Fallon (NBC at 11:34) Milo Ventimiglia, Marc Maron, Oneohtrix Point Never.

Jimmy Kimmel Live (ABC at 11:35) Charlie Hunnam, Why Don’t We.

Late Late Show/Corden (CBS at 12:37) Henry Golding, Ella Mai.

— Nina Zafar

More at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv)

BROADCAST CHANNELS											
11/6/20	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	
4.1 WRC (NBC)	• News	• Hollywood	• American Ninja Warrior			• Dateline NBC		News	• J. Fallon		
4.2 WRC (IND)	The Munsters	The Munsters	Frasier	Frasier	Roseanne	Roseanne	Roseanne	Roseanne	The Nanny	The Nanny	
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	Fox 5	• TMZ	• WWE Friday Night SmackDown (Live)				Fox 5 News at 10		News	The Final	
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	• Wheel	• J'pardy!	• Shark Tank		(9:01) • 20/20				News	• Kimmel	
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	Q&A	• Ent. Tonight	• The Greatest AtHome		• Magnum P.I.		• Blue Bloods		9 News	• Colbert	
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	La Rosa de Guadalupe		La Rosa de Guadalupe		• Imperio de mentiras		Dulce ambición		Noticias	Noticiero	
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	• Family Feud	• FamFeud	Fox 5 News		• FamFeud	Fox 5 News	Creek	Big Bang	Big Bang	• Law & Order: Criminal Intent	
22.1 WMPY (PBS)	State	Artworks	Shetland		• Great Performances				McLaugh.		
26.1 WETA (PBS)	• PBS NewsHour		Wash	• Washington	• Great Performances				Amanpour		
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	DW News	The Journey	Henry Louis Gates Jr. – Uncovering			Memory Rescue With Daniel Amen, MD			Democracy Now!		
50.1 WDCW (CW)	• black-ish	• black-ish	• Masters of	• Masters of	• Animals	• Animals	• Seinfeld	Seinfeld	Two Men	Two Men	
66.1 WPXW (ION)	Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		
CABLE CHANNELS											
A&E	The First 48		First 48: Shocking		Live Rescue						
AMC	(6:30) Movie: The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King				★★★ (2003)		Fear the Walking Dead				
Animal Planet	River Monsters		River Monsters		River Monsters: Deadliest Man-Eaters		River Monsters				
BET	(5:00) Movie: The Help				★★★ (2011)		Tyler Perry's Sistas	House/Payne	As. Living	Martin	Martin
Bravo	How Single	Movie: 13 Going on 30				★★★ (2004)		Movie: 13 Going on 30		★★★ (2004)	
Cartoon Network	Teen Titans Go!		Gumball	Gumball	Burgers	Amer. Dad	Amer. Dad	Rick, Morty	Family Guy	Family Guy	
CNN	Erin Burnett OutFront		Anderson Cooper 360		Cuomo Prime Time		CNN Tonight		CNN Tonight		
Comedy Central	The Office		The Office		Creek	Creek	Creek	Creek	Kevin Hart: Laugh	Chappelle's	
Discovery	Gold Rush: Pay Dirt		Gold Rush						(11:14) Gold Rush		
Disney	Raven	Raven	Raven	Just Roll	Raven	Raven	Liv-Mad.	Raven	Raven	Roll With It	
E!	Movie: The Proposal				★★ (2009)		Movie: The Proposal				
ESPN	Football	College Football : Miami at NC State (Live)					SportsCenter (Live)				
ESPN2	NFL Live		High School Football : St. Thomas Aquinas (Fla.) vs. American Heritage (Fla.) (Live)				Max	Boxing			
Food Network	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	
Fox News	The Story With Martha		Tucker Carlson Tonight		Hannity (Live)		The Ingraham Angle		Fox News at Night		
Freeform	(6:30) Movie: The Santa Clause 2				★★ (2002)		Movie: The Santa Clause 3: The Escape Clause		★ (2006)		
FX	(5:00) Fast & Furious 6		★★		Movie: BlackKkKlansman		★★★ (2018)		Movie: BlackKkKlansman		
Hallmark	(6:00) A Royal Christmas		Movie: A Shoe Addict's Christmas (2018)				Movie: Christmas Under Wraps (2014)				
Hallmark M&M	Last Vermont Christmas		Movie: The Perfect Christmas Present (2017)				Movie: Christmas Tree Lane (2020)				
HBO	Red Tails	The Undoing	A Very Harold & Kumar 3D Christmas		★★		Real Time, Bill Maher	How to	Real Time		
HGTV	Dream Home	Dream Home	Hunt Intl	Hunt Intl	Big Italian Adventure		Hunters	Hunters Int'l	Hunters	Hunters Int'l	
History	The Curse of Oak Island		The Curse of Oak Island		The Curse of Oak Island		The Curse of Oak Island		The Curse of Oak Island		
Lifetime	(6:00) The Christmas Aunt		Movie: The Christmas Yule Blog (2020)				(10:03) Movie: A Crafty Christmas Romance (2020)				
MASN	College Soccer : Louisville at Notre Dame (Live)		Bensinger		Behind	Rutgers	McGee's Pro Football Plus	Oblig.			
MSNBC	The ReidOut (Live)		All In With Chris Hayes		Rachel Maddow Show		The Last Word		The 11th Hour		
MTV	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridic.	Ridiculous.	
Nat'l Geographic	Ultimate Survival Alaska		Ultimate Survival Alaska		Ultimate Survival Alaska						
NBC SportsNet WA	(6:00) 106.7 The Fan's Sports Junkies				Football			Ravens	Football	Soccer	
Nickelodeon	Danger Force	Danger Force	Danger Force	Danger Force	Unfiltered	Group Chat	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	
PARMT	Movie: Grown Ups 2				★ (2013)		Movie: Grown Ups 2		★ (2013)		
Syfy	(6:00) Movie: The Fifth Element			★★★		Movie: Death Wish			★ (2018)		
TBS	Seinfeld	Movie: Fist Fight		★★ (2017)		(9:15) Movie: Pain & Gain					
TCM	(6:00) Ride the High Country		Movie: The Greatest Show on Earth				★★★ (1952)		(10:45) Movie: The Circus		
TLC	The Family Chantel		90 Day Flan��: The Other Way				90 Day	90 Day: Other	90 Day: Other		
TNT	Bones		Movie: Transformers				★★★ (2007)		All Elite Wrestling		
Travel	Ghost Adventures		Ghost Adventures		Ghost Adventures				Ghost Adventures		
TruTV	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Videos	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	
TV Land	Andy Griffith	Andy Griffith	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	King	King	
TV One	Fam. Matters	Fam. Matters	Good Times	Good Times	Good Times	Good Times	Good Times	Good Times	Good Times	Good Times	
USA Network	(6:00) Movie: Avengers: Age of Ultron				★★★ (2015)		Movie: Ant-Man		★★★ (2015)		
VH1	Martin	Martin	Movie: Sister Act 2: Back in the Habit				★★ (1993)		Movie: Sister Act		
WNCB	PGCPS Gala		Govt. Matters ABC 7 News		SportsTalk	ABC News	WJLA 24/7 News at 10	Govt. Matters	Paid Program		
WGN	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation		
LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs • High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated											

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By Kevin Christian

ACROSS

1 Persepolis ruins locale

5 Prickly plants

10 Former Supreme Court first name

14 iPod model

15 Garden nuisance

16 Protection org. since 1970

17 Lions in the city?

19 Slangy sweeties

20 Pulitzer-winning author Lurie

21 Spring

23 Conan's network

24 Willamette River capital

25 Fish with experience?

27 UFO fliers, presumably

28 __ bath

30 Luke and Leia's mother

31 Show-offs

35 Pats gently

36 Bees behind bars?

38 Inland Asian sea

40 Fixture in some no-parking zones

41 Starr man

43 One kept on a child at the pool

44 Hole goal

47 Whales on the run?

51 GE rival

53 "Alas!" prompter

54 Seafarers

55 USC athlete

56 Novel ending?

58 Wolves with a clean lair?

60 Miranda __ of "Homeland"

61 Dutch cheeses

62 Czech track legend

63 Zen riddle

64 "Building a Mystery" singer

65 Cook of comedy

DOWN

1 If

2 Scold harshly

3 Wile E. Coyote weapons

4 White __

5 Bo's'n boss

6 Loan fig.

7 Put on ice

8 Helped through a tough time, with "over"

9 Brainstorming session output

10 Director Reiner

11 Paper with Money and Life sections

12 Awesome, slangily

13 Bothers

18 Public town park

22 Narc's find

25 "Funny thing is ..."

26 "I __ thought of that"

29 Home to the Ogden Raptors of MiLB

31 Hägar the Horrible's wife

32 Med. condition with repetitive behavior

33 Hurt in a ring

34 Take out, as a vampire

36 Italian bacon

37 Like difficult push-ups

38 "Do you and I need to clear the air?"

39 Dish with arborio rice

42 Withdraw, with "out"

44 __ party

45 Aleve rival

46 Really get to

48 Wasp nest sites

49 Red-carpet brand

50 NBA great Robertson nicknamed "The Big O"

52 Minibike kin

55 Derriere

57 Long time to wait, facetiously

59 Thurman in films

THURSDAY'S LA TIMES SOLUTION

MEDALBETEMCEE
ALONEALIGALEN
CHINSTRAPELECT
SITUARTASIA
POTATIORSTAI
APINONODIRT
SPEAKINGPARTS
SSRSACETELE
AGOSATECLOSED
LOBSTERTRAPS
RIBSIANUGLI
BRINEJACKSPRA
CHUGSARKKAIN
COMETGASASPEN

DOES IT SAY, "I WON'T TAKE YOUR CRAP ANYMORE, AND CAN'T BELIEVE I DID FOR SO LONG"?

If he tries to turn you into the bad guy, turn yourself into the baddest bad guy

Hi, Carolyn: I think my question is about potential regret. My father (I'm in my 40s now) was never around much growing up. He worked a lot and moved us a lot for his work, with his final move being across the country and a divorce.

Now that I have kids, he wants to be "involved." He manages okay with my kids, though they aren't terribly comfortable with him because he's somewhat controlling and critical. He's extremely critical of me.

He's one of those people with no filter: He'll point out how gray my hair has gotten or how old my sofa is. He says I need to make more of an effort to see him or I'll regret it.

But will I? He's not deliberately cruel, but he's not nice to be around, either. I think I'd be happy to just drift away, but he won't let that happen because it's not what he wants, and he'll happily put me in the role of the bad guy if it suits his agenda.

I don't know what I'm asking other than, how can I break free without being the bad guy? I don't want my kids to think family is disposable, but I also

don't want them to think that the way he treats me is acceptable. I feel stuck. Please help!

— *Never "Daddy's Little Girl"*

Never "Daddy's Little Girl": I think your question is about a self-centered father who knows his power is diminished and uses the leverage he has left — guilt, criticism, control, *threats!* — to manipulate you.

So, my advice: Seize the bad-guy mantle yourself. Beat him to it. Fashion it out of the finest fabrics in a color that brings out your eyes, and wear the hell out of it, and don't lose a moment's sleep when you're done.

If you don't want to see him, then don't.

If you don't want to cut him off but don't like his idea of "involved," then set your own terms for him to take or leave.

If you don't like his criticisms, then suggest he can either sweeten up or go home. Engage when he's kind, disengage *completely* when he uses or defends cruelty.

You're right — family isn't disposable. Nor is it just DNA. So show your kids what it looks like to refuse to be treated as such.

Show them your father will not, will no longer, have license to treat you as ornaments for his

own ego and needs.

It appears he's never had a filter, but let's say it's a recent enough development to be a symptom.

For the sake of argument, let's say his being diminished now is not a matter of ordinary life circumstance but of illness or decline.

Even in that case, a firm command of boundaries — bad-guy readiness — is essential. The adult child of a controlling parent or a sick one has a job to do and is winning zero popularity contests.

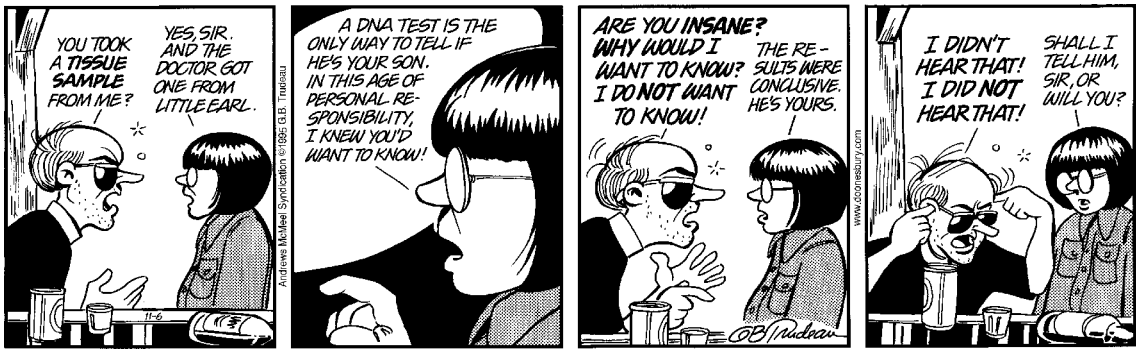
That's okay though. Being the bad guy, if done right and for the right reasons, can feel awfully good.

If the idea of that is just inconceivable to you, then I hope you'll consider taking the whole father issue to therapy. It's hard to rewrite decades of emotional and family programming. It's not impossible, however — and what a gift to yourself and your kids.

Write to Carolyn Hax at tellme@washpost.com. Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at wapo.st/haxpost.

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at live.washingtonpost.com

CLASSIC DOONESBURY



BRIDGE

N-S VULNERABLE

NORTH

♠ 8
♥ K 4 3
♦ A K Q 7 3
♣ 9 8 6 2

WEST

♠ A K Q J 6 5 3
♥ 5
♦ 8 4
♣ 7 5 3

EAST

♠ 9
♥ 8 7 6 2
♦ J 10 6 2
♣ Q J 10 4

SOUTH (D)

♠ 10 7 4 2
♥ A Q J 10 9
♦ 9 5
♣ A K

The bidding:

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
1 ♥	4 ♠	5 ♥	Pass
6 ♥	All Pass		

Opening lead — ♠ K

“How much do you know about human anatomy?” Cy the Cynic asked me in the club lounge. “Just the bare bones,” I said.

“The tongue is the body’s only muscle that is connected at only one end,” Cy told me. “That doesn’t stop my partners from making full use of it.”

Cy was East in today’s deal from his penny game. Against six hearts, West led the king of spades, then the ace. South ruffed with dummy’s king of trumps, and Cy threw a club.

“Declarer drew trumps,” the Cynic told me, “pitching two diamonds from dummy. He took the A-K of clubs, led a diamond to dummy and ruffed a club. When my partner and I followed, he claimed. He could pitch his last two spades on dummy’s third high diamond and good club.

“Partner gave me a tongue-lashing,” Cy went on. “I was tongue-tied. Did he want me to discard a diamond on the second spade so declarer could run the diamonds?”

Cy missed the best defense. He must discard a trump at Trick Two! Then the slam is unmakeable.

DAILY QUESTION

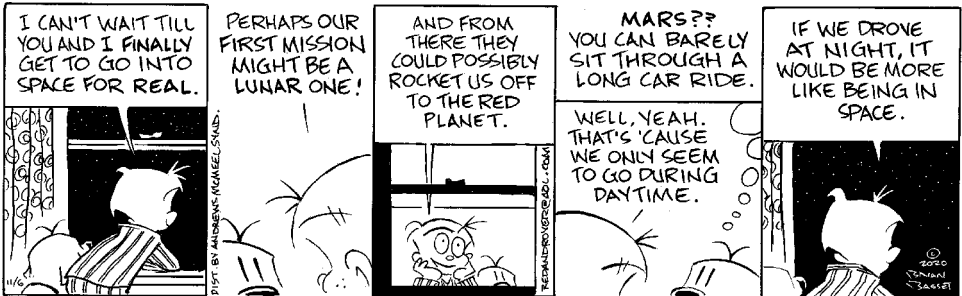
You hold:
♠ 10 7 4 2 ♥ A Q J 10 9
♦ 9 5 ♣ A K

You open one heart, your partner responds one spade, you raise to two spades and he next bids 2NT. What do you say?

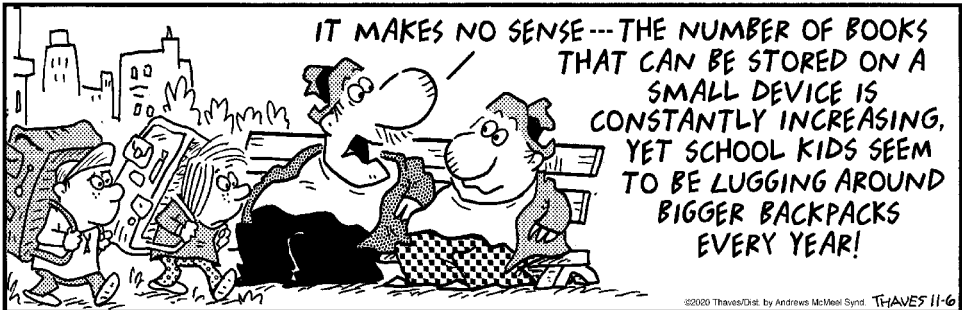
ANSWER: This problem is difficult. You have four-card spade support and maximum values for your single raise, so a jump to four spades is indicated. Still, your spades are poor, and you have trick-taking power in hearts. To raise to 3NT will be right if partner holds J 8 5 3, K 3, K Q 7, Q 10 5 2.

— Frank Stewart
©2020, TRIBUNE CONTENT AGENCY, LLC.

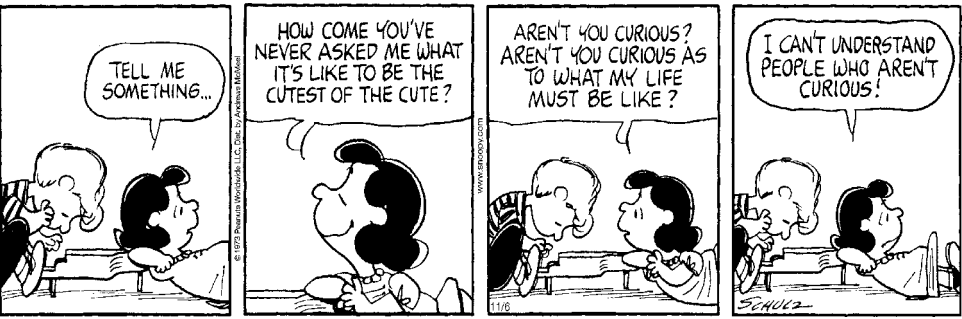
RED AND ROVER



FRANK AND ERNEST



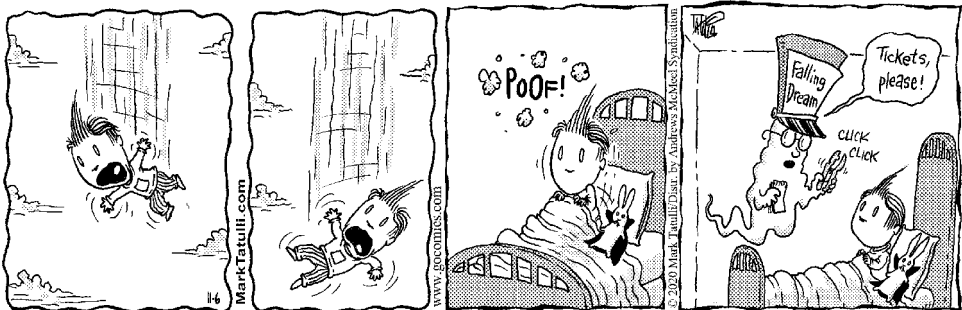
CLASSIC PEANUTS



RHYMES WITH ORANGE



LIO



HAGAR THE HORRIBLE

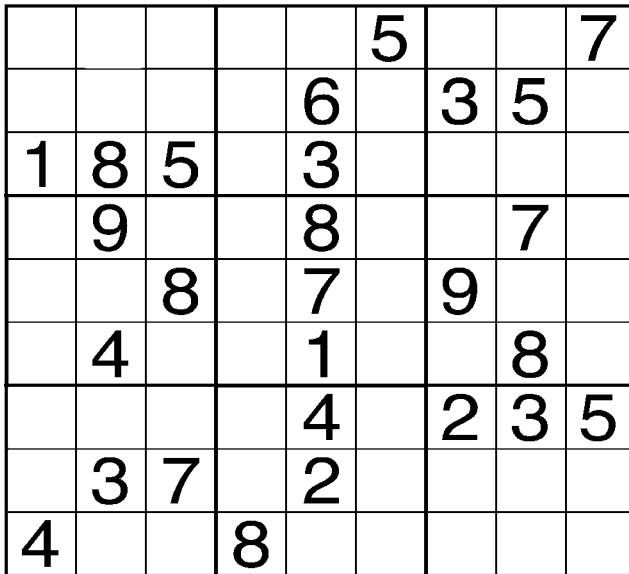


BLONDIE

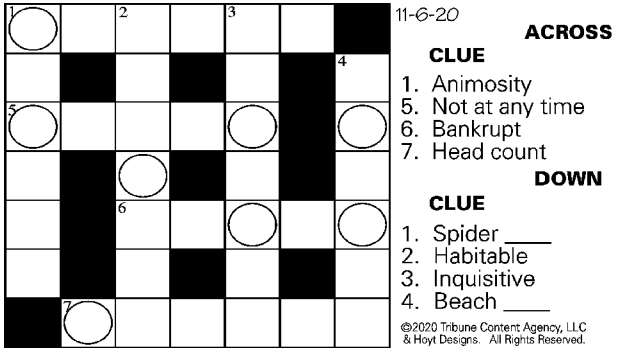


SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.



DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★★★★



ACROSS

1. Animosity
5. Not at any time
6. Bankrupt
7. Head count

DOWN

1. Spider
2. Habitable
3. Inquisitive
4. Beach

ANSWER

ILECMA
REENV
BKERO
NCSEU

ANSWER

YEOKNM
ILBAVEL
ILOCUSUR
WOSLTE

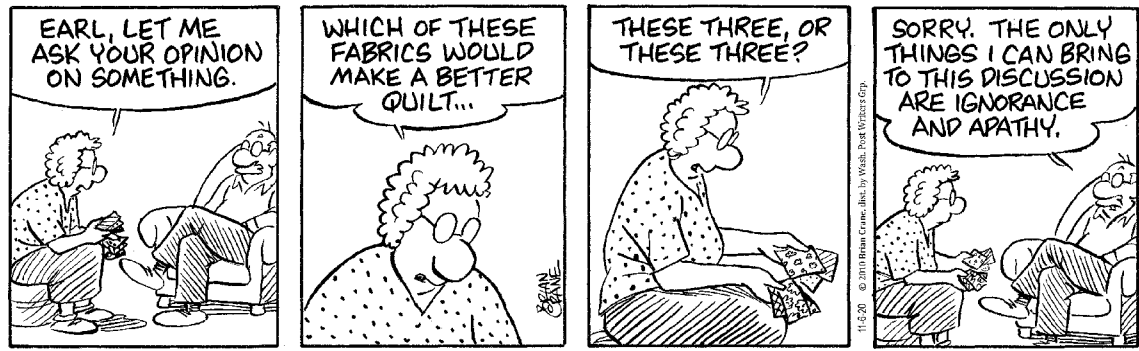
JUMBLE CROSSWORDS

How to play
Complete the crossword puzzle by looking at the clues and unscrambling the answers. When the puzzle is complete, unscramble the circled letters to solve the BONUS.

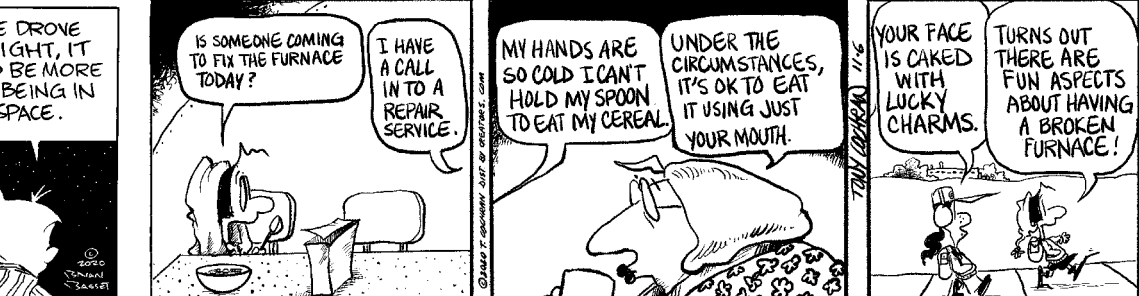
BONUS
CLUE: The official languages of _____ are French and English.

Send comments to TCA - 160 N. Statton, Chicago, Illinois 60601 or DLHoyt@HoytInteractiveMedia.com

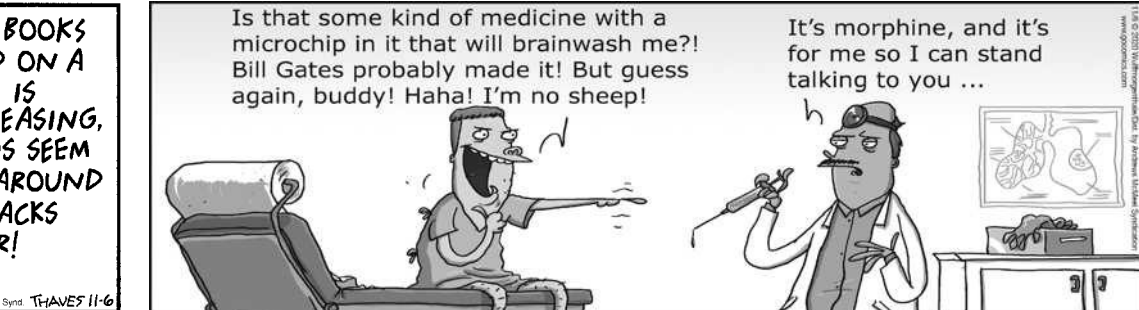
PICKLES



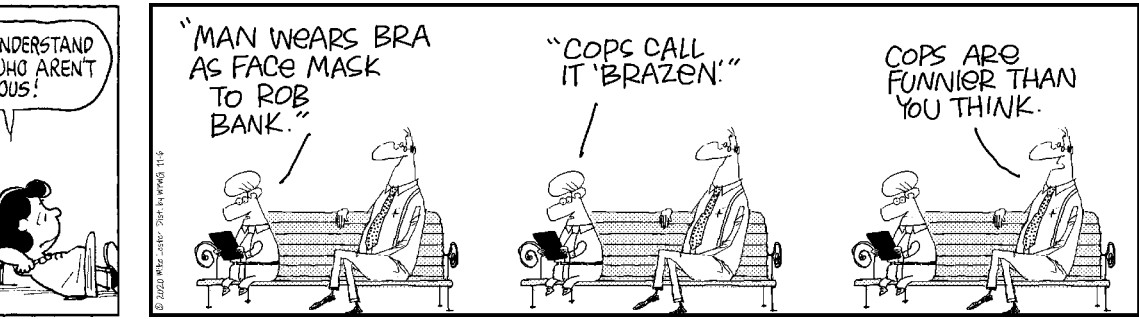
AGNES



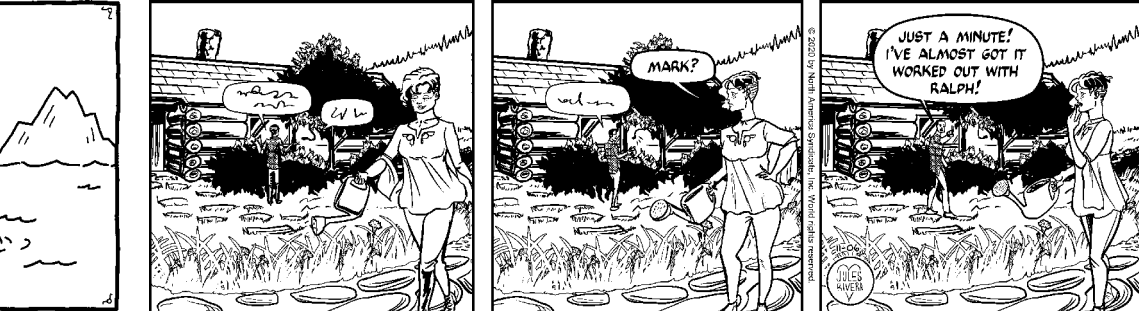
WUMO



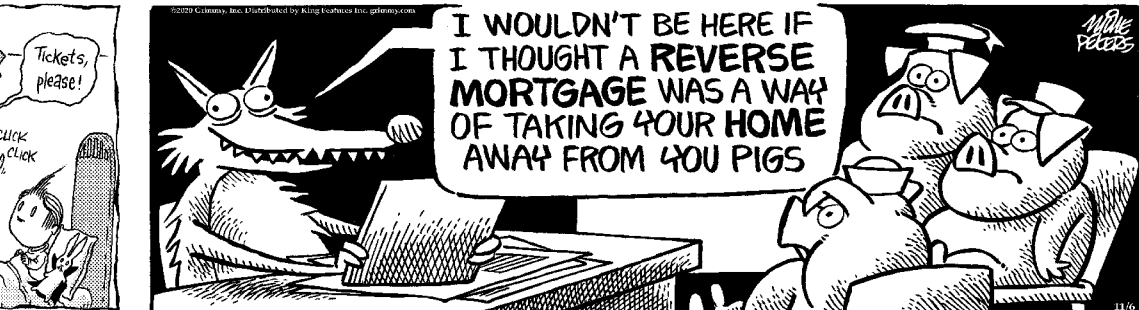
MIKE DU JOUR



MARK TRAIL



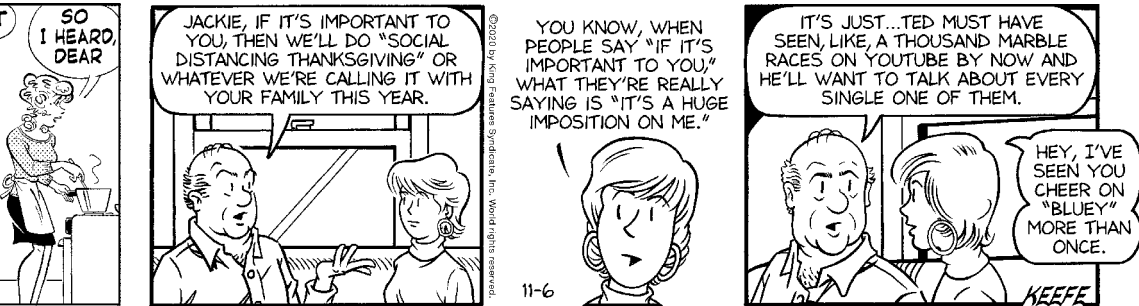
MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM



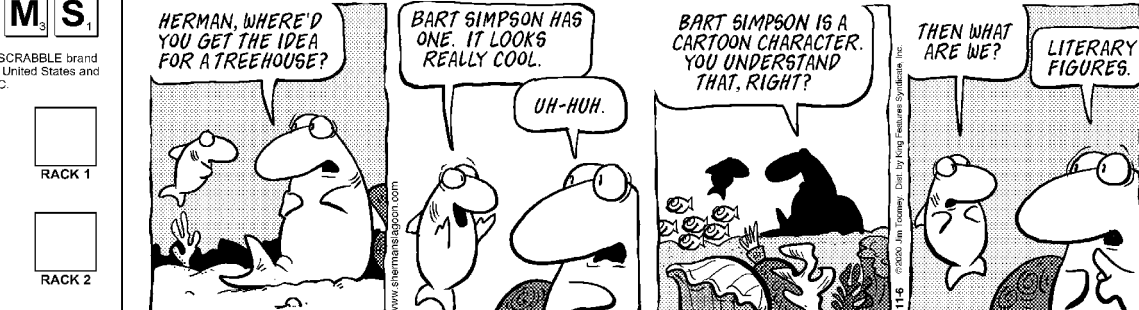
BALDO



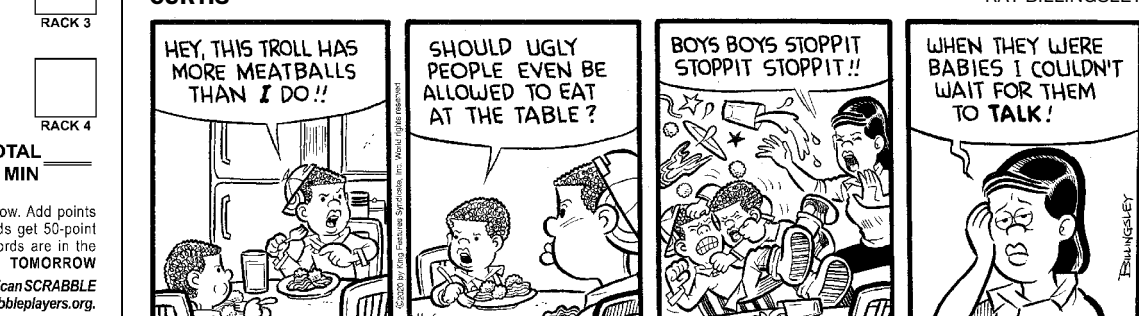
SALLY FORTH



SHERMAN'S LAGOON



CURTIS



BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!

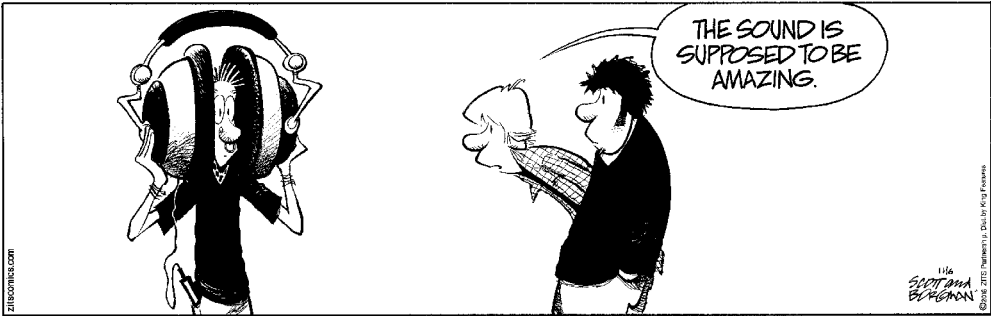


MUTTS



PATRICK McDONNELL

ZITS



JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN

HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | NOVEMBER 6
Stimulating, rousing and positive, you get the blood flowing for many. In terms of a project you love, you must not get depressed by its first rejection but try again, for it succeeds very well. Your humor helps it. If single, be open to changes, because a partnership evolves. If attached, more romantic bliss and happiness are to come. Your partner has a surprise for you. Capricorn gives the best gifts.

ARIES
(MARCH 21-APRIL 19). Today generates mood swings in a loved one. Offer words of encouragement. Be a good listener. A visitor offers to help with chores or repairs. A household gathering is peppered with lively discussions.

TAURUS
(APRIL 20-MAY 20). Today indicates that you might look for a new vehicle or consider alternative travel and transportation arrangements. Mobility issues will be resolved satisfactorily. Hesitate if an acquaintance suggests a risky proposal.

GEMINI
(MAY 21-JUNE 20). Double-check suggestions that others make regarding finances. Today's opposition could allow the actions taken by another to drain your resources. Trust your own judgment, particularly if something sounds too good to be true.

CANCER
(JUNE 21-JULY 22). Today generates enthusiasm and motivation. Control impatience and anger though. It is especially important to be constructive in your focus. Both love prospects and finances are very promising. A desirable relationship grows.

LEO
(JULY 23-AUG. 22). Old and poignant memories surface. Past life regression might be useful to aid in understanding and accepting the present situation. A deep rapport with wild creatures and the spirit of wilderness prevails.

VIRGO
(AUG. 23-SEPT. 22). Friends include you in their plans. The expectations of others draw you into group activities or a prominent role within an organization. You might assume the role of mediator or overseer.

LIBRA
(SEPT. 23-OCT. 22). Today puts a positive spin on your status and career situation. You'll be highly visible. A Zoom meeting goes especially well. Others express admiration and see you as a role model. Burn sage to cleanse your workplace.

SCORPIO
(OCT. 23-NOV. 21). Today reveals new potentials on the horizon. Your luck is changing for the better. Select goals for the long-range future. Write a wish list. Information and new ideas are directed your way. Opportunities are likely to come about.

SAGITTARIUS
(NOV. 22-DEC. 21). Today will be memorable. Be receptive to growth and change. Don't be surprised by the magnitude of changes brewing. It's a time of turning points. There can be a debate or some points of controversy to settle.

CAPRICORN
(DEC. 22-JAN. 19). Listen carefully and honor others' freedom of thought, even if you disagree. A long-standing partnership, in business or in love, might be ending or a new one beginning. Your imagination and creativity are excellent.

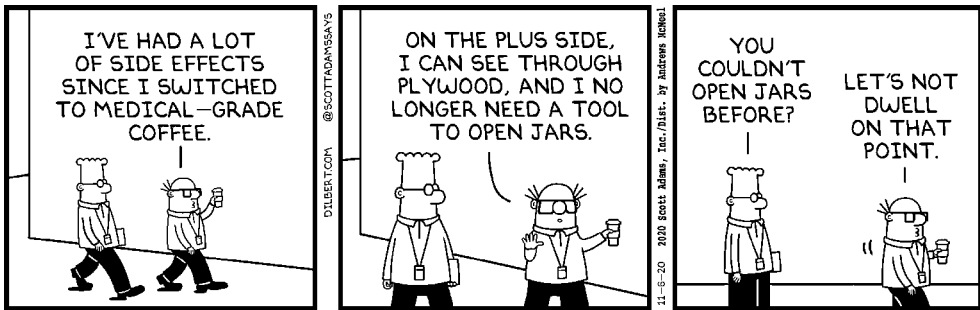
AQUARIUS
(JAN. 20-FEB. 18). Today affects your health sector. A dream or intuitive perception brings insight into fitness factors. Seek ways to ease a stressful daily schedule. A much loved animal companion might require extra love and attention.

PISCES
(FEB. 19-MARCH 20). Today gives you renewed energy and enthusiasm. You'll enjoy sports, creative projects and hobbies. Love and admiration come your way. Children have much to share. Young people are sources of inspiration, pride and hope.

— Madalyn Aslan

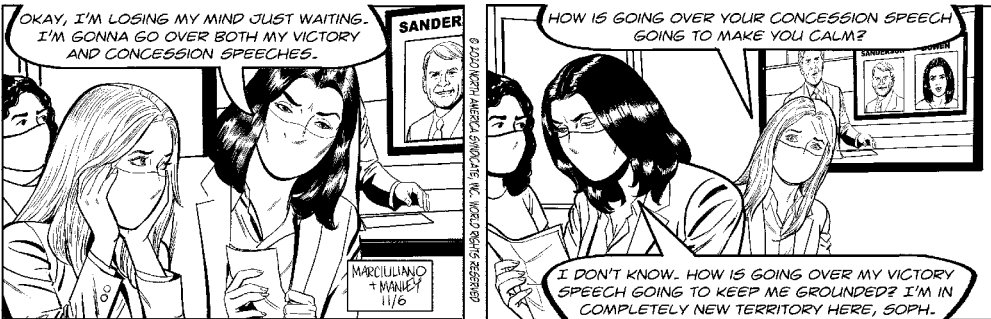
© 2020, KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, INC.

DILBERT



SCOTT ADAMS

JUDGE PARKER



FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY

FRAZZ



JEFF MALLET

CANDORVILLE



GARFIELD



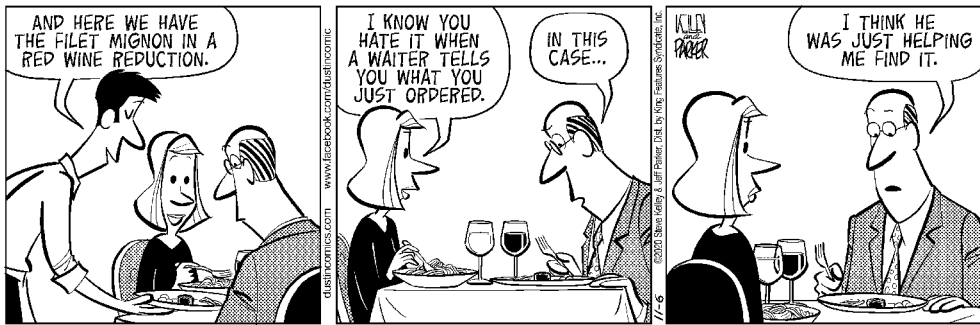
JIM DAVIS

BARNEY AND CLYDE



WEINGARTENS & CLARK

DUSTIN



STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER

THE AMAZING SPIDER-MAN

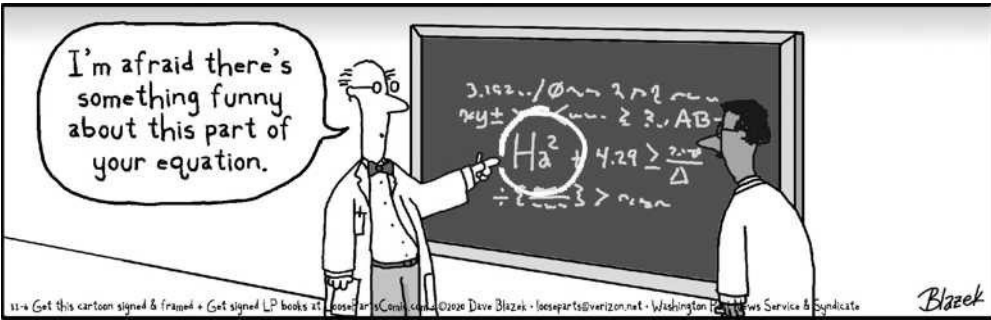


STAN LEE & ALEX SAVIUK

PRICKLY CITY



LOOSE PARTS



COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Saturday's Navy-Tulsa game is off after positive virus cases force the Midshipmen to halt team activities. **D2**

PRO FOOTBALL

The NFL makes the Raiders pay for violating coronavirus protocols with a fine and the loss of a sixth-round pick. **D3**

FRIDAYS WITHOUT FOOTBALL

Gonzaga's famed student cheer section, one of the most purple and vocal in the area, has gone quiet. **D4**

For Leonsis, addressing depression is personal



Barry Svrluga

Ted Leonsis has a question, the most important question of these incredibly tumultuous times. "No one ever asks me: 'How are you doing?'" he said. "How are you doing through all this?"

So, Ted, how are you doing? "I've had my ups and downs," the owner of the Washington Capitals, Wizards and Mystics said, "because this is an uncontrollable time in history." Ain't it the truth? And because that's the case, if you're down — about the pandemic, about the election, about societal inequalities, about widespread unrest, about any or all of it — let's talk. Ted will.

"We have to talk about how we're doing," Leonsis said. "There are issues we sweep under the table, and we'll look back at this and say, 'Why did we do that?'"

Leonsis knows that right around Thanksgiving and again just after Christmas and once more just past Valentine's Day, he will get an email — or two or three or more — marking the anniversary of a friend's suicide. These were successful people. They seemed happy. They struggled with the fallout of the financial crisis of 2008-09 or a professional setback. But in each of the three cases, the friend put up false fronts, smiling through sadness. Now they're all gone.

So with the coronavirus pandemic raging into the winter — adding more stresses to more people than even the bottomed-out economy of a dozen years ago — Leonsis thinks it's important to acknowledge what he considers the hidden pandemic: mental health issues. In late September, he tweeted about them. Since, he has done a great deal of thinking about them.

"I don't think there's ever been a time when, between the economy and social justice and the presidential election, that everyone has been just waiting for the next shoe to drop in life, in business," Leonsis said in a nearly 40-minute phone conversation last week, before the election. "So you just know that something worse than that happened post-2008-09 is going to happen. There's a dread about everything."

"We're creating a world and a society where we are activating all of the issues on mental health, but we won't talk about it. We don't promote it. We don't say it is okay — especially now — to be dealing with anxiety or depression. If you're having on-the-edge kinds of feelings, it's the right thing to do to communicate, come to your community, tell your family, tell your friends. We are going to end up with a big, big issue if we don't

SEE SVRLUGA ON D5



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Despite Washington's 2-5 start to the season, its defense, led by rookie end Chase Young (99) and cornerback Kendall Fuller, has been a strength.

In their defense, strong will

Rivera's teams often finish well, so Washington has decent shot

On the NFL

LES CARPENTER

So many of the stories Ron Rivera's former players tell about the old days with Carolina start with a lot of losing — followed by winning. Such as the eight in a row they won in 2013 after that 1-3 start. Or the time they began the year 3-8-1 only to win their final four games and the NFC South.

These tales have an almost heroic arc of a team struggling to find itself before somehow coming together midseason as a patient Rivera guides it. They describe a coach who never seems to unravel even as the season appears to be careening away, and they say there almost always came the moment when something changed inside the team and the winning followed.

"What we have always done with Coach Rivera is we've always been really good at the end of the season, and I think that's been a big benefit for him," Luke Kuechly, Rivera's star linebacker with the Panthers, said

SEE ON THE NFL ON D3

Much better than last season, unit says best is yet to come

BY NICKI JHABVALA

In only six games, Chase Young leads all NFL rookies in sacks (2.5) and quarterback pressures (seven) and ranks second in tackles for loss (five). Yet one of his toughest and most loyal critics gave him a C-plus for the start of his pro career.

"She said that I'm not leading the league in sacks, so she gave me a C-plus," Young said jokingly of his mother, Carla Young. "I'm definitely going to get those up."

Expectations were and always will be high for the Washington Football Team's first-round pick. Even when his numbers aren't up to his own standards, the rookie pass rusher's impact is undeniable. Not even halfway through a season, Young has become an instant cornerstone to a unit that has quietly — and quickly — transformed.

Washington's defense, which finished the 2019 season ranked among

SEE WASHINGTON ON D3

New York Giants at Washington | Sunday, 1 p.m., WTTG-5

World's Largest Outdoor Cocktail Party wrecker

The virus deals a sobering blow to the festivities surrounding the Florida-Georgia rivalry game

BY EMILY GIAMBALVO

A few weeks ago, Ed Witt told a bus company he wouldn't need to rent a motor coach this fall. College friends, neighbors and clients usually meet at Witt's house in Jacksonville, Fla., and ride into downtown the morning of the Florida-Georgia football game. Witt has missed the rivalry game only once since 1985, and many of those years he rented a bus so his crew of about 50 fans had easy transport to and from the stadium that hosts the game and an all-day behemoth of a tailgate party.

Witt's plan for this year? "Nothing," he said. He's attending the game, but he plans to drive there in the afternoon once his 14-year-

old daughter finishes soccer practice and return home immediately after. Witt hopes for a Florida win, but apart from that, his expectations are low because the game known as the World's Largest Outdoor Cocktail Party must heed to a raging pandemic.

"It'll be kind of dead," Witt said, forecasting the game-day atmosphere. "Everybody will be going about their business. I'm sure there will be some people having fun. It just puts a huge damper. It's like a wet blanket on everything."

College football games have

SEE COCKTAIL ON D2

Florida vs. Georgia
At Jacksonville
Tomorrow, 3:30 p.m., CBS



SAM GREENWOOD/GETTY IMAGES

Fans revel in a parking lot before the 2015 Florida-Georgia game. This year, they need a game ticket just to get into the stadium lots.

NBA players reach deal to start season Dec. 22

BY BEN GOLLIVER

The NBA's plans for an accelerated start to the upcoming 2020-21 season are a go.

After weeks of negotiations, the National Basketball Players Association voted to approve the NBA's plan for a 72-game schedule that begins Dec. 22. The NBA draft will take place Nov. 18 as planned, free agency will commence shortly thereafter, and training camps will open Dec. 1. That timeline enables the NBA to begin a typical 82-game schedule for the 2021-22 season on time next fall.

"The Board of Player Representatives of the National Basketball Players Association (NBPA) has tentatively approved a start date of December 22, 2020 for the 2020-2021 NBA season and a 72-game schedule," the NBPA

said in a statement Thursday night.

While the NBA and the NBPA are in the middle of a collective bargaining agreement that runs through 2023-24, the two sides have repeatedly renegotiated terms because of the coronavirus pandemic. They spent months planning and executing the bubble at Disney World over the summer and recommitted to talks shortly after the Finals concluded in October.

The agreed-upon schedule represents a quick turnaround from last year, with opening night set for just 73 days after the final game of the Finals. By comparison, 132 days passed between the final game of the 2019 Finals and the start of last season. The NBA is attempting to make up for lost time after the coronavirus

SEE NBA ON D3

Navy-Tulsa football game postponed after rise in virus cases at the academy

BY KAREEM COPELAND

The football game between Navy and Tulsa scheduled for Saturday was postponed after positive cases of the coronavirus at Navy forced the Midshipmen to halt team activities Thursday.

The two teams do not have a common open date, so the American Athletic Conference will look at numerous options in hopes of rescheduling.

“We are disappointed not to face Tulsa this weekend, however

protocols and guidelines are very comprehensive both at the Naval Academy and within the American Athletic Conference,” Navy Athletic Director Chet Gladchuk said in a statement. “There are a number of medical personnel that have reviewed all the related issues and, in the end, an administrative decision has been made that clearly reflects the safety and welfare of all involved with both institutions.”

Navy had taken several safety measures since the team returned

in late summer and had hoped the natural bubble of the academy — physical walls enclose the campus — would keep the global pandemic at bay. The team eliminated tackling and face-to-face blocking during training camp and in practices leading up to the season opener against BYU. The Midshipmen were physically unprepared; lost, 55-3; and returned to full-contact, normal practices afterward. Coach Ken Niumatalolo had previously conducted all team meetings through video telecon-

ferences but recently returned to in-person meetings.

Navy had avoided any major issues related to the pandemic that had caused it to move games after the initial push of rescheduling. The Mids have open Saturdays on Nov. 28 and Dec. 5, but Tulsa doesn’t have an open week until after its scheduled season finale against Cincinnati on Dec. 5. Navy plays Army on Dec. 12, and the American Athletic Conference championship game is Dec. 19.

Navy’s next scheduled game is

Nov. 14 at home against Memphis.

Air Force and Army also will have the weekend off after their scheduled game in Colorado was postponed Thursday. The Air Force explained an “upward trend” of coronavirus cases at the academy and in surrounding areas led to the postponement of Saturday’s game.

The two schools hope to reschedule, but Air Force has a game scheduled every week through its season finale against Utah State on Dec. 3. Army has a long stretch

without a game between Nov. 21 and its final game Dec. 12 against Navy.

“We are disappointed to postpone this game, but the health and safety of our cadets, staff and the community continues to be our No. 1 priority at the Academy,” Air Force Athletic Director Nathan Pine said in a statement. “Due to the upward trends in our COVID numbers across the campus, we have paused all intercollegiate team activities.”

kareem.copeland@washpost.com

DIGEST

BASEBALL

Nationals’ Soto wins Silver Slugger award

Last week, as an odd season wrapped up, **Juan Soto** was not named a finalist for the National League MVP award. A slight? Perhaps, but some small consolation came Thursday night once Soto, the Washington Nationals’ star left fielder, won his first Silver Slugger award.

This means Soto, 22, was recognized by managers and coaches as one of the best hitters at his position. He received the honors alongside NL outfielders **Ronald Acuña Jr.** of the Atlanta Braves and **Mookie Betts** of the Los Angeles Dodgers.

In his third year in the majors, Soto won the NL batting title with a .351 average, smacked 13 home runs in 47 games and led all major league hitters in on-base-plus-slugging percentage (1.185) and a few other advanced statistics.

Shortstop **Trea Turner** was the only other Nationals player with a Silver Slugger chance. But he was edged by the San Diego Padres’ **Fernando Tatis Jr.**, a 21-year-old who trailed Turner in OPS, on-base percentage, hits and extra-base hits. The other NL winners were Braves catcher **Travis d’Arnaud**, Braves first baseman **Freddie Freeman**, San Francisco Giants second baseman **Donovan Solano**, Padres third baseman **Manny Machado** and Braves designated hitter **Marcell Ozuna**.

The American League winners were Kansas City Royals catcher **Salvador Perez**, Chicago White Sox first baseman **José Abreu**, New York Yankees second baseman **DJ LeMahieu**, White Sox shortstop **Tim Anderson**, Cleveland Indians third baseman **José Ramírez**, Los Angeles Angels outfielder **Mike Trout**, Toronto Blue Jays outfielder **Teoscar Hernández**, White Sox outfielder **Eloy Jiménez** and Minnesota Twins designated hitter **Nelson Cruz**.

COLLEGES

The football season opener scheduled for Saturday between California and Washington was canceled after a request from the Golden Bears because of a positive coronavirus test for one of their players.

California doesn’t have the minimum 53 scholarship players available for the game as a result of the positive test and the need for other players to quarantine under contact tracing protocols, the Pac-12 said in a statement. The conference said the game would be declared a no-contest. . . .

Saturday’s football game between North Texas and Louisiana Tech was postponed because of the coronavirus. . . .

Clemson is ending its men’s track and field and cross-country programs after this academic year, the school announced. . . .

William & Mary said it is reversing an earlier decision to cut men’s gymnastics, swimming and track and field and will support the programs through at least the 2021-22 academic year while developing a financial plan to keep them sustainable.

SOCCER

German club Werder Bremen refused to release forward **Josh Sargent** and other players for upcoming national team games, and the United States replaced Sargent on its 24-man roster with LA Galaxy midfielder **Sebastian Lletget**.

Lletget becomes the lone MLS player on the U.S. roster for exhibitions at Wales on Thursday and against Panama in Austria four days later. . . .

Harry Kane scored his 200th goal for Tottenham in a 3-1 away victory over Ludogorets in the Europa League, while AC Milan’s 24-game unbeaten streak ended with a 3-0 loss to Lille at the San Siro.

Ten-man Benfica came from two goals down to draw, 3-3, at home with Rangers after an equalizer in injury time, and Arsenal had to come from one goal down to beat Norwegian club Molde, 4-1, at home for its third straight win.

Leicester routed visiting Braga, 4-0, while Celtic was beaten, 4-1, by Sparta Prague in Glasgow.

Also, Roma thrashed visiting Cluj, 5-0, and Spanish league leader Real Sociedad handed visiting AZ Alkmaar its first defeat, 1-0, halfway through the group stage.

MISC.

ESPN will lay off 300 workers and leave another 200 positions unfilled, network president **Jimmy Pitaro** told employees, as the pandemic and changing television-viewing habits continue to affect the sports behemoth and its parent company, Disney.

The cuts will affect all aspects of the company but focus heavily on those who work in production, according to multiple people with knowledge of the changes.

— Ben Strauss

Top-seeded **Rafael Nadal** stayed on course for his first title at the Paris Masters by beating **Jordan Thompson**, 6-1, 7-6 (7-3), to reach the quarterfinals. Nadal lost his only final at the Bercy Indoor Arena 13 years ago. . . .

The New York Rangers avoided arbitration with center **Ryan Strome**, agreeing to terms on a two-year, \$9 million contract. The 27-year-old set a career high last season with 59 points. . . .

Jasper Philipson won a long, wet and windy Stage 15 at the Spanish Vuelta in Puebla de Sanabria, and **Primož Roglič** held his overall lead with two days of competitive cycling left.

— From news services and staff reports

TELEVISION AND RADIO COLLEGE FOOTBALL	
7:45 p.m.	Miami at North Carolina State » ESPN
9 p.m.	San Jose State at San Diego State » CBS Sports Network
9:45 p.m.	BYU at Boise State » Fox Sports 1
GOLF	
1 p.m.	PGA Tour: Houston Open, second round » Golf Channel
4 p.m.	PGA Tour Champions: Charles Schwab Cup Championship, first round » Golf Channel
SOCCER	
Noon	Turkish Super Lig: Besiktas at Gaziantepspor » beIN Sports
3 p.m.	French Ligue 1: Olympique Marseille at Strasbourg » beIN Sports
TENNIS	
5 a.m.	ATP: Paris Masters, quarterfinals » Tennis Channel
AUTO RACING	
8 p.m.	NASCAR Truck Series: Lucas Oil 150 » Fox Sports 1
HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL	
8 p.m.	American Heritage (Fla.) at St. Thomas Aquinas (Fla.) » ESPN2
HORSE RACING	
2 p.m.	Breeders’ Cup: Future Stars Friday » NBC Sports Network
SWIMMING	
10 a.m.	International Swimming League: Match 8 » CBS Sports Network
MEN’S COLLEGE SOCCER	
4 p.m.	Virginia Tech at Virginia » MASN
7 p.m.	Louisville at Notre Dame » MASN
8 p.m.	Duke at North Carolina » ACC Network
COLLEGE FIELD HOCKEY	
1:30 p.m.	ACC tournament, semifinals: Louisville vs. Virginia » ACC Network
4 p.m.	ACC tournament, semifinals: Syracuse at North Carolina » ACC Network
WOMEN’S COLLEGE VOLLEYBALL	
8 p.m.	South Carolina at Tennessee » SEC Network

COCKTAIL FROM DI

carried on through the coronavirus pandemic, but the matchup between Florida and Georgia found itself particularly susceptible to change because it’s more an event than a game. The weekend-long party brings thousands into the city, even if they don’t have a ticket. Some fans arrive on boats via the St. Johns River. Students flock to the coast, turning south Georgia beaches into a daytime version of a crowded fraternity house. Four quarters of football occupy a few hours of the affair, but for many fans, the rivalry has deep ties to all these ancillary activities.

“It’s a real carnival-like atmosphere,” said Glenn Champion, a 71-year-old Georgia fan attending the game for his 51st consecutive year. “It’s just a lot of fun.”

“It kind of reminds me of a family reunion of sporting events,” said Lee Thomas, who owns a mobile party company that will hold a tailgate in Jacksonville even though he doesn’t expect it to turn a profit.

As host of one of the few neutral-site rivalry games in college football, TIAA Bank Field seats fans of the Bulldogs and Gators on separate sides of the stadiums, with the red and blue attire meeting behind the goal posts in each end zone. Apart from a two-year hiatus for stadium renovations, Jacksonville has hosted this game since 1933. According to the city’s office of sports and entertainment, last year’s matchup brought in 160,000 out-of-town visitors and generated an economic impact of \$33 million.

The rivalry has provided a stage for Lindsay Scott’s miracle touchdown in the Bulldogs’ 1980 national title-winning season, Florida’s 1995 rout in Athens, Georgia’s planned excessive celebration penalty in 2007 and then the Gators’ two late timeouts in 2008 to let their victory ruminate. In the past 12 years, each team has won six times, and the game often has a significant role in deciding the champion of the SEC East. This year’s edition pits No. 5 Georgia against No. 8 Florida, but with social distancing protocols, only about 18,000 fans will watch from inside the stadium.

To discourage gatherings, only ticket holders are allowed in stadium lots, and the city is prohibiting tailgating — though it cannot impede events on private property. RV City, where some fans live in a makeshift neighborhood of motor homes for days leading up to the game, will not exist this year, and other events, such as the Hall of Fame luncheon, were canceled.



STEPHEN B. MORTON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Unlike in 2015, Jacksonville, Fla., will prohibit tailgating at the Florida-Georgia game this year.

For nearly three decades, this game has been held on the weekend closest to Halloween, but when the SEC announced updated schedules because of the pandemic, the matchup moved back a week.

University of Georgia students usually have a day off from school the Friday before the game, and en masse, they drive to the Georgia coast. They crowd the shores of St. Simons Island, temporarily known as Frat Beach. Peter Murphy, the commissioner of Glynn County’s district that includes these barrier islands, said up to 10,000 students have taken part in the Friday event. They carry plastic jugs of alcohol, wear Halloween costumes and write hotel information or a friend’s phone number on their arms in hopes of making it home safely.

But this year Georgia’s fall break came a week ago, the Friday before the weekend the game would usually take place, and Glynn County banned alcohol on the beach to discourage students from congregating.

“From a public health and a public relations point of view,” Murphy said, “we do not want to be seen by the rest of the state and the Southeast region as tolerating a potential superspreader event.”

Eric Santana, a senior at Georgia, has gone to Frat Beach the past three years. Only once did he have a ticket for the football game. Santana dressed up as Jar Jar Binks from “Star Wars” and watched a stranger hurl a water-logged cellphone into the ocean.

Santana found a ticket for this year’s game through a friend. They’re staying in St. Augustine, Fla., and have no plans to party on the beach. Santana is on the executive committee of his fraternity, Sigma Pi, and usually *everyone* goes to St. Simons. In previous years, “let’s say I know 500 people here,” Santana said. “I’d say probably 460 of them are going.” This year, he only knows about 10 other students making the trip.

“I feel like the pandemic completely curbed any potential for Frat Beach,” said Santana, who plans to attend medical school. “It would be absurd if anything close to that magnitude happened.”

For many, the pandemic has halted attendance streaks and scuttled long-standing traditions. Kelly Butterfield, a Florida graduate, hadn’t missed the game since 1988. With a group of college friends, she travels to Jacksonville by boat. Some years, they have chartered a yacht and hosted huge tailgates in the marina. “It’s just one big party for the whole weekend,” she said. But for this weekend, she invited a group of about 15 to her home north of Orlando instead.

The area around the stadium Saturday won’t be quiet and deserted. Thousands will make their way into the game, and others won’t let the pandemic lessen their desire to be nearby, even if they can’t watch from the stands.

Pregame events will carry on at private businesses. Dean McQuiddy, a 1983 Florida graduate who

has missed this game only once since he began college, will tailgate at Adams Street Station, then watch from a stadium suite. The Georgia Bulldog Club of Jacksonville — which takes its role for this weekend “very, very seriously,” past president Mary Daniel said — still will hold a tailgate and watch party near the stadium.

“Even under these circumstances,” Daniel said, “we didn’t want to just shut down and interrupt what we do.”

The Bulldog Club usually parks 500 cars and serves barbecue to 2,000 people. This year, Daniel expects 150 cars and 300 fans at the watch party. Saturday will be the 32nd consecutive Florida-Georgia game Daniel has attended. She said she doesn’t wrestle with health concerns. She attended a watch party at an Irish pub for Georgia’s game last weekend.

“We all need football season,” Daniel said. “For us that are so invested and love this team and this game so much, we feel for our well-being that we need some normalcy. And watching Georgia football brings that to us.”

So the club will host a scaled-back version of its kickoff party Thursday evening. The fans will gather in a private lot Saturday, preparing for the game as they usually would but with limited tickets and extra space between cars. The organizers considered the public health guidelines, and “we’re doing those things,” Daniel said. “But the party is going to go on.”

emily.giambalvo@washpost.com

Liberty’s faith in Freeze has led it to new heights

BY GENE WANG

Liberty Coach Hugh Freeze keeps a list of milestones as tangible indicators the program is ascending according to plan.

Among the accomplishments the Flames checked off last year, their first under Freeze and their first full season in the Football Bowl Subdivision, were a winning record and a bowl victory. A little more than two weeks ago, Liberty (6-0) collected another first when it beat Syracuse, marking its inaugural win against an ACC school.

Several days ago, Freeze presented his players with the latest benchmark, an image of No. 25 Liberty being ranked in the Associated Press poll for the first time, brushing aside detractors who point out the combined record of its opponents this season is 4-28.

The independent Flames are one of six unbeaten teams in the FBS who have played at least six games.

“If I were you, I would take this and get it framed,” Freeze said he told the team during a meeting Monday morning. “You need to save this picture. It’s special. This doesn’t happen in Year 2 of full FBS very, very often. I like doing things that are first. I’ve said that.”

That Freeze has steered the football program at the private

evangelical university in Lynchburg, Va., to unprecedented heights extends a track record of winning at previous stops.

In his only season at Arkansas State in 2011, he led the Red Wolves to a 10-3 record and an appearance in the GoDaddy.com Bowl. He left for Mississippi the next year and made an immediate impact, going 7-6 after the Rebels won six games combined in 2010 and 2011.

By his third season in Oxford, Miss., the Rebels were ranked third nationally after starting 7-0. Mississippi also upset mighty Alabama twice and won the Sugar Bowl during Freeze’s tenure.

But amid NCAA violations, including impermissible benefits to players and the use of a university-issued mobile phone to call an escort service, Freeze resigned in July 2017. Two years later, Liberty hired Freeze, replacing former coach Turner Gill, who announced his retirement.

“We’re bringing in someone that’s experienced success everywhere he’s been at,” Liberty Athletic Director Ian McCaw, who resigned from the same position at Baylor over a sexual assault scandal involving the football team, said at the time. “That success certainly has been on the football field, but what really im-

Liberty at Virginia Tech
Tomorrow, noon, ACC Network

pressed us the most with him is he’s a man of great faith.”

Freeze is a born-again Christian who communicates religious beliefs via his Twitter feed.

He’s also a deft recruiter who recently landed the most highly regarded commit in Liberty history. Defensive end Khristian Zachary is a three- to four-star player, according to several scouting services, and chose the Flames over Power Five schools such as Alabama, Georgia and Oklahoma.

Liberty enters Saturday’s game against Virginia Tech in Blacksburg, Va., ranked 16th nationally in scoring (38 points per game) and 17th in yards per game (471.3) behind multidimensional quarterback Malik Willis, an Auburn transfer who has thrown for 1,122 yards and nine touchdowns and run for 495 yards and six additional scores.

“No one can take away the fact that our team was voted in the top 25,” Freeze said. “The second part of our season is very difficult. It’s very challenging. I have no clue how that’s going to go. None of us do. I do know this: I will not let that diminish what our team did to this point.”

Liberty’s football prosperity

comes during an especially tumultuous period for the university, which is facing a lawsuit from its former president, Jerry Falwell Jr. He’s the son of the late televangelist, the Rev. Jerry Falwell Sr., who co-founded the school. Falwell Jr. led the university for more than a decade before he resigned in August amid personal scandal.

The lawsuit claims Liberty damaged his reputation by allegedly accepting without verification what Falwell Jr. said were false statements made by a man who had an affair with his wife and attempted to extort the couple, according to the complaint.

Falwell Jr., a lawyer and developer, transformed an institution mired in debt into a university with a six-figure student enrollment, considerable political sway and a flourishing football program.

“I don’t even feel like there’s negative stuff swirling around me and our program,” Freeze said. “I really don’t focus on any of that. I have zero control over very little to do on this campus other than making sure our kids, hopefully, respect each other and operate in a manner that [honors] the university and our mission and presents that in a good light.”

gene.wang@washpost.com

Rodgers, Adams sizzle as Green Bay overwhelms San Francisco

PACKERS 34,
49ERS 17

BY JOSH DUBOW

SANTA CLARA, CALIF. — Aaron Rodgers threw for 305 yards and four touchdowns, and the Green Bay Packers overwhelmed the undermanned San Francisco 49ers, 34-17, on Thursday night.

Rodgers connected on deep shots to Davante Adams and Marquez Valdes-Scantling and a short

toss to Marcedes Lewis in the first half to get the Packers (6-2) out to a 21-3 lead over the 49ers (4-5).

It was quite a reversal from the two meetings last season when San Francisco outscored Green Bay by a combined 50-0 in the first half on the way to lopsided wins in the regular season and NFC championship game.

The rematch looked nothing like those games in part because the 49ers were missing almost all their key pieces from the game because of injuries and a positive coronavirus test for wide receiver

Kendrick Bourne that also sidelined three of his teammates as “high risk” contacts.

That left San Francisco without quarterback Jimmy Garoppolo (ankle), all-pro tight end George Kittle (foot), NFC title game star running back Raheem Mostert (ankle), wide receivers Deebo Samuel (hamstring) and Brandon Aiyuk (covid-19 list), left tackle Trent Williams (covid-19 list) and key defenders Nick Bosa (knee), Dee Ford (back) and Richard Sherman (calf).

Rodgers and the Packers, who

were missing three players on the covid-19 list, took advantage.

Rodgers capped the opening drive with a 36-yard pass to Adams, who made an acrobatic catch over Emmanuel Moseley in the end zone for his league-leading eighth touchdown reception of the season.

Nick Mullens had an apparent touchdown throw to River Craft wiped out on replay for San Francisco before throwing an interception to Raven Greene after backup left tackle Justin Skule got beaten for a pressure from Preston

Smith.

That mistake led to Rodgers's one-yard throw to Lewis. The Packers then took control when Valdes-Scantling got behind the defense for the 52-yard catch late in the first half.

Rodgers added a second touchdown pass to Valdes-Scantling, and the rout was on.

Adams finished with 10 catches for 173 yards, making him the first Packers player with three 150-yard receiving games since Donald Driver in 2006.

—Associated Press

Washington is improved on defense, wants more

WASHINGTON FROM DI

the league's worst in nearly every major statistic, has allowed the fewest passing yards (185.9 per game), ranks fourth in total defense (309.1 yards allowed per game), has totaled the sixth-most sacks (22), ranks 11th in scoring (23.6 points) and is 17th against the run (123.3 yards).

In “defense-adjusted value over average,” or DVOA, a metric developed by Football Outsiders to gauge a team's situational success relative to the average success of other teams, Washington ranks fourth in total defense and second in passing defense this season. It ranked 27th in both categories in 2019.

But at 2-5 with a young offense and a chance to vie for the NFC East crown, the group's early success has flown under the radar — even to the players themselves.

“I haven't paid attention to that, so I really don't know,” Young said when asked whether he feels the group is underrated to most.

Coordinator Jack Del Rio and his players have paid little mind to their year-over-year improvement or statistical rankings. Instead, they often cite the preparation that has led to the changes. More often, they mention their continued shortcomings — including their middling third-down defense (40.3 percent opponent conversion rate) and the explosive plays they have given up, which include nine of 40 or more yards (tied with the New York Jets and Dallas Cowboys for the most in the league). They also mention the missed tackles (their



Washington, led by a fierce line, has allowed the fewest passing yards in the NFL, is fourth in total defense and has the sixth-most sacks.

rate of 12.4 percent ranks 25th) and minor but costly errors that can shift a game's momentum.

“When you talk about explosive plays, you're typically talking about the back end, leverage issues, missed tackles or missed assignments,” Del Rio said Thursday. “... I like the way our group has worked at it. I think we're an improving group, but we have a lot of work to do yet as we get into the second half of the year.”

During the bye week, Washington's coaching staff evaluated its first seven games in all three phases. As it prepares for its second meeting with the New York Giants, moments from their Week 6 game, which Washington lost, 20-19, after a failed two-point attempt in the final minute, have been used as teaching points.

Although Washington allowed

only 108 passing yards that game, it also gave up three scoring drives in the first half, allowed the Giants to convert 64 percent of their third downs and gave up a 49-yard run to quarterback Daniel Jones.

“We identified a few of the things that we felt we could do better,” Del Rio said. “I think overall for us is we want to play complementary football and we want to do our part as the defense. We need to get the ball back for our offense as often as possible. We need to start fast. We've got to take care of the quarterback run. We can't have him getting an explosive run like he did in the game. ... I think third down, I don't think we were particularly strong on third down in that game. I think it was probably our worst game of the year.”

When Del Rio was hired in January, he laid out a vision for defense that starred a disruptive line. Washington is loaded with five first-round picks up front. Against the Cowboys in Week 7, the line produced four of the team's six sacks and stifled a Dallas offense that was already reeling.

“It's having the impact that you would envision,” Washington Coach Ron Rivera said of the line. “But to be honest, I think it could be better. I really do. I think it's a good, young group that's still learning and growing and figuring their way out. There are still some elements of learning that they have to do, some bad habits that we've got to get corrected. ... some techniques that they used to use in a different style. This is a completely different defense. So

we've got to get them to learn those techniques and learn those habits and develop them.”

Del Rio has also preached cohesion among the defensive line, the linebackers and the secondary. Any success, he said, would come as a complete group, not simply the impact of a few players.

That's why, despite its early returns, Washington's defense aspires to be more than the NFL's leader in a couple of statistical categories.

“It all works together,” Del Rio said. “I'll throw a cliché at you: ‘It's the ultimate team sport.’ It just is. A good rush is going to have a hard time if you don't have coverage. Good coverage is going to potentially break down if you don't have a good rush.

“It really does tie together.”

nicki.jhabwala@washpost.com

ON THE NFL

Rivera's teams have finished strong in the past. This one can as well.

ON THE NFL FROM DI

this past summer.

Now in Rivera's first season as coach of the Washington Football Team, there may be that instant of understanding, a slow turn toward improvement. Over the past game and a half, going back to the one-point loss to the New York Giants on Oct. 18, Washington has run up 570 yards while allowing just 160 and has scored 34 points, giving up only 10.

While this is a very small sample size — less than two games against two of the NFL's worst teams (New York and the Dallas Cowboys), a stretch in which Washington went 1-1 — the team still may be turning a corner. Coaches described two weeks of excellent practices before last week's bye, suggesting the players are finally

understanding what the new coaching staff is asking of it.

“Aha moments,” Rivera calls these times.

“All of a sudden it's: ‘Ah, I see what the coaches are saying. I see what they're trying to show us,’” Rivera said this week.

On the surface, there isn't a lot to look forward to with this Washington team. It's 2-5, including the disappointing loss to the Giants, and has no clear answer at quarterback, upheaval on the offensive line and a dearth of offensive playmakers. But with the rest of the NFC East having fallen apart and 2-5 being enough to sit a game and a half out of first place, there appears to be a quiet confidence — at least among the coaches — that Washington's young players are getting better at exactly the right time.

“You know, one of the neat aha moments that I've seen in the

past is why a receiver understands he has to run a route at a certain pace,” Rivera said. “I've seen guys go, ‘Okay, that makes sense now.’ I've seen linebackers go all of a sudden, ‘Okay, that's the reason why I fall back on this and I don't fall back on that is because of this.’

“As a coach that's gratifying,” he continued. “But you wish they'd get it sooner.”

This year was always going to be hard for Washington. Transitions to a new coach usually are. The coronavirus pandemic shut down the team offices in the spring, canceled offseason workouts and left the players and coaches little time to understand each other in training camp before playing games that counted.

The next few weeks probably will say everything about how real a chance Washington has to

win the NFC East. With the Giants, Detroit Lions, Cincinnati Bengals and Cowboys looming on the schedule, Washington is heading into its biggest stretch of winnable games. A 2-5 record can turn to 6-5 or 5-6 quickly, and in this NFC East that might be good enough for first place going into December.

“The path to success isn't a straight line. You've got to push through the tough times to get to the good ones,” offensive coordinator Scott Turner said last week, just before the team left on its bye.

Who knows how Washington will play this weekend after a week off. Maybe the momentum of the previous two weeks will stall with a gap in the practices. This team isn't deep enough or talented enough to survive inconsistency. But the steady improvement is one of the first

good signs for Washington in what has been a dark season that already includes frustrating losses to the Giants and Cleveland Browns, an abrupt quarterback change with the benching of Dwayne Haskins and injuries to key players such as Brandon Scherff and Landon Collins.

“We're going to have high expectations. At some point we're going to reach those expectations,” defensive coordinator Jack Del Rio said last week. “That's where we are. We set the bar high. Coach has set the bar high. I've set the bar high on defense. That's just how it is. We're going to grow into it. It's just a matter of when.”

Almost halfway into the strangest of seasons, there are at least a few reasons to think that when might be now.

les.carpenter@washpost.com

NBA players reach agreement to start new season in December

NBA FROM DI

prompted a four-month shutdown March 11.

Initially, the two sides floated the possibility of a January or February start to the season, but the NBA reversed its position once it became clear that the ongoing spread of the virus would make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to host large amounts of fans in arenas this season.

The United States saw a record 116,707 new coronavirus cases Thursday, and Anthony S. Fauci, the director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, said recently that sporting events might not see a return to normal until the fourth quarter of 2021. The Athletic reported

Thursday that the NBA might seek to open a portion of luxury suites at limited capacity this season.

The players' union initially was reluctant to move so quickly through the offseason and preferred starting on Martin Luther King Jr. Day, in large part because of the physical and mental toll of the bubble. But delaying the start until January could have cost the NBA as much as \$1 billion, ESPN.com reported, and the players had little tolerance for further hits to their wallets as the clock ticked on their decision.

With an estimated \$4 billion gameday-related revenue drop coming this season because of the coronavirus, the sides ultimately concluded they needed to maximize their television visibility by

playing showcase games on Christmas Day and returning the postseason closer to its standard calendar. The NBA's postseason television ratings, which were held in August, September and October this year, sagged with competition from the NFL, MLB and college football.

Some teams will find themselves more rushed than others. The Los Angeles Lakers and Miami Heat will be hardest hit; they will be asked to report to training camp just seven weeks after concluding the Finals in October. Lakers star LeBron James joked last week on HBO that he would be ramping up slowly.

“I'm cherry-picking the whole first half of the season,” James said.

But eight teams that weren't

invited to the bubble haven't played since March. Six more, including the Washington Wizards, have been off since mid-August. All told, 22 of 30 teams haven't played since at least the first week of September.

“Additional details remain to be negotiated and the NBPA is confident that the parties will reach agreement on these remaining issues,” the union's statement concluded Thursday night.

Among those details: an agreement on health and safety protocols and the exact financial terms governing next season. The league plans to utilize its normal arenas and travel extensively rather than play in a restricted bubble, thereby vastly increasing the risk of positive coronavirus tests among players. No players

tested positive in the Disney World bubble, but the NBA must now brace for the possibility of widespread positive tests that have impacted the NFL, MLB and college football, in some cases canceling games.

“We always think of player health as the number one factor in all the decisions that we make,” NBPA vice president Andre Iguodala told ESPN this week.

The owners and players will attempt to keep the salary cap and luxury tax line close to last season. This approach would provide a degree of financial stability to the entire system, but it also would require that a portion of player salaries be held in escrow to account for the steep projected revenue declines.

ben.golliver@washpost.com

NFL NOTES

Raiders punished for protocol violations

FROM NEWS SERVICES
AND STAFF REPORTS

The NFL fined the Las Vegas Raiders \$500,000 and stripped them of a sixth-round draft choice for violations of the league's coronavirus protocols, according to a person familiar with the penalties.

Raiders Coach Jon Gruden was fined \$150,000. The Raiders were treated as repeat offenders by the league after the team, Gruden and players previously were fined for other protocol violations.

The Raiders were informed of the penalties by the league, according to the person with knowledge of the matter, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the NFL made no official announcement.

The league and the NFL Players Association reviewed the case and concluded that the Raiders had violated protocols. A person familiar with the case previously had said that the review focused on offensive tackle Trent Brown and whether he wore his tracking device as required at all times within team facilities. Video showed Raiders offensive linemen at impermissible gatherings without masks within the team facility, that person previously said.

Brown was placed on the Raiders' covid-19 reserve list for the second time Thursday.

—Mark Maske

•**TEXANS:** Houston will be without three linebackers Sunday against the Jacksonville Jaguars after linebacker Jacob Martin tested positive for the coronavirus.

The team learned that Martin tested positive for the virus Wednesday night and shut down the facility Thursday. Martin was placed on the reserve/covid-19 list Thursday.

Interim coach Romeo Crennel said starting linebacker Whitney Mercilus and reserve linebacker Dylan Cole also would miss Sunday's game after contact tracing found that they had been in close contact with Martin. Both players will have to quarantine for five days.

The Texans conducted their meetings virtually Thursday, and Crennel said he hoped they could return to the facility and practice Friday if there were no more positive tests.

•**49ERS:** The NFL and the players' union are investigating San Francisco and wide receiver Kendrick Bourne for possible violations of the league's coronavirus protocols.

A person familiar with the investigation said the probe is looking into whether Bourne has been wearing a face covering as required by the coronavirus rules. The person spoke on the condition of anonymity because details of the investigation haven't been announced by the league.

Bourne was placed on the covid-19 list Wednesday after testing positive for the coronavirus.

•**PANTHERS:** Carolina Coach Matt Rhule said barring a setback he expects Christian McCaffrey to play Sunday against the Chiefs.

The 2019 all-pro running back, who missed the past six games with a high ankle sprain, practiced for the second consecutive day. Rhule said McCaffrey looked “fresh and fast” at practice and responded well after putting on the pads the day before.

•**PATRIOTS:** Running back Sony Michel returned to practice, a month after being placed on injured reserve with a quadriceps injury.

Cornerback Stephon Gilmore did not participate in Thursday's workout as he recovers from a knee injury that caused him to miss last week's loss to Buffalo.

•**FALCONS:** Atlanta wide receiver Calvin Ridley missed practice for the second straight day because of a foot injury.

Ridley was hurt early in the second quarter of Atlanta's 25-17 victory at Carolina on Oct. 29 and hasn't practiced since. He leads the Falcons with 43 catches for 657 yards and six touchdowns.

•**JETS:** Quarterback Sam Darnold's sore shoulder kept him out of practice, but New York Coach Adam Gase remains optimistic the quarterback will play Monday night against New England.

•**DOLPHINS:** Miami running back Myles Gaskin was placed on injured reserve, meaning he will miss at least three games with a knee injury.

Gaskin is the team's leading rusher with 387 yards.

•**TITANS:** Tennessee signed long snapper Matt Orzech off the Dolphins' practice squad.

—Associated Press

At Gonzaga, cheering on the team is its own sport

Student-led booster club creates a special energy around football games that is missing during this pandemic-altered fall

BY KYLE MELNICK

Even before he could walk, Finn Scanlon spent many of his weekends in Gonzaga’s bleachers watching the high school’s football team.

Scanlon’s father, Michael, graduated from Gonzaga in 1988, and he passed on the school’s long-standing traditions to his son. Watching Gonzaga students jump and yell on the bleachers, Scanlon wanted one day to be a leader of the school’s student cheer group.

“It was definitely important that I was part of it,” said Scanlon, now a senior and a standout lacrosse player for the Eagles.

Gonzaga is one of the area’s most accomplished football programs, with four Washington Catholic Athletic Conference championships, and its student section may be one reason. At big games, there can be as many as 400 Gonzaga students standing elbow-to-elbow in the bleachers. It would be hard to find a game where fewer than 150 students were in attendance.

In July, Scanlon was selected to lead the student booster club — and therefore lead those chants. In a normal year, he would plan every game’s theme and pep rally and stand in front of the student cheer group, lucky if he didn’t become hoarse. Those chaotic, adrenaline-filled moments are obviously missing this fall.

Being part of the student cheer group at Gonzaga is serious stuff. New students learn what to expect at freshman orientation, when student booster club members storm onto the field in costumes, riling up the rookies.

Many of those freshmen will experience their first football game near the back of the student section. Many student cheer groups have unwritten rules that the older students reserve seats closer to the field.

Other students get an appetizer of what’s to come when they’re considering attending Gonzaga. Malcolm Dread was in eighth grade when he watched the Gonzaga basketball team play in the WCAC championship at American University. Wearing a purple Gonzaga T-shirt, Dread sneaked into the student section.

“I was really overwhelmed because there were so many people in the gym, and it was like everybody was yelling and chanting,” said Dread, a standout basketball player who is committed to Richmond but wasn’t above joining the student booster club this year.



PETE MAROVICH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Gonzaga students cheer for their football team during a 2016 game. A substantial amount of planning goes into building an atmosphere.

At the beginning of every week, Gonzaga’s student booster club members post the clothing theme for that week’s game on Instagram; word spreads quickly throughout the school. Sometimes the theme is as simple as everyone wearing white or black clothes. One time, when Gonzaga played the DeMatha Stags, students wore camouflage as if they were deer hunting.

There’s no telling what sort of costumes you will see. Student cheer group leaders have worn banana suits, purple onesies, plaid skirts with a bagpipe, and fur coats to go along with shorts in cold weather. In the fourth quarter of close games, Gonzaga students remove their shirts and wave them in the air.

This fall, Scanlon planned to pick out whatever old costumes he could find in his basement, such as a leprechaun outfit or a Mad Hatter hat. Dread considered donning a banana suit, life-guard outfit, hot dog suit and Captain Underpants costume.

Similar antics occur among some of the area’s other most spirited student sections. At Centreville High, student cheer group leaders carry a black-and-blue spirit stick with a Wildcat

head at the base. Regardless of the game’s theme, body paint is a staple. Students place a box on the track that leaders stand on throughout the game, but it needs to be replaced about every two years because of damage.

“It’s really sad, honestly, because this is something we’ve all been looking forward to: our senior year of high school football seeing the boys play,” Centreville senior Clara Looney said. “It’s something that we’re missing out on that people, they can understand, but from our viewpoint, it’s hard.”

At Gonzaga, excitement builds for Friday night football games throughout the school day. There’s a pep rally before every game, with the most extensive one coming the week Gonzaga plays its biggest rival, St. John’s. Students say attendance is mandatory. Many alums return. With the football team sitting in the middle of the field, students scream at the top of their lungs.

For home games, Gonzaga’s student booster club sometimes organizes food trucks to arrive outside the D.C. private school so students don’t have to leave campus to eat before the game. Students rush into the bleachers

when the stadium gates open about an hour before kickoff.

Gonzaga students are always on their feet, and many later return home with a sore throat. At the end of games, Gonzaga’s players run to the student cheer group. Everyone raises a fist as they sing the school’s alma mater.

But Gonzaga’s students haven’t always been patient enough to wait for that postgame ritual.

In 2018, Gonzaga trailed DeMatha in the WCAC championship at Catholic University’s Cardinal Stadium when quarterback Caleb Williams threw a desperation 53-yard pass to the end zone as time expired. During the play, Gonzaga’s students said the “Hail Mary” prayer together. When they said “Amen,” wide receiver John Marshall caught the ball in the end zone, giving the Eagles the title in one of the country’s most competitive leagues.

The hundreds of students pushed each other in the bleachers trying to dash onto the field to celebrate. The school’s student services couldn’t control them. Within a few moments, the fence separating the bleachers from the field barreled over. The school had to pay for the damages, but that didn’t stop students

from jumping, yelling and singing with football players on the field.

Gonzaga safety Kye Holmes said the student cheer group made the team believe it could win. The senior has leaned on its energy since he was a freshman. Before Holmes entered his first varsity game in 2017 at Good Counsel, one of Gonzaga’s students yelled at Holmes to “bring the juice.” That energized Holmes and eliminated his jitters as the Eagles won and moved onto the WCAC championship game.

If there is a WCAC football season this spring, Gonzaga’s student booster club leaders say they have pent-up energy from virtual learning this fall. For them, there is no better place to release it than alongside hundreds of classmates in Gonzaga’s bleachers.

“Whenever we come back,” Holmes said, “I guarantee it’s going to be the best student section you’ve ever seen.”

kyle.melnick@washpost.com

With no competition this fall because of the coronavirus pandemic, each week we will explore an element of the high school football experience that is missing.

Breeders’ Cup offers usual deep fields even in an unusual year

BY NEIL GREENBERG

The Breeders’ Cup remains horse racing’s premier event, even in this unusual year. Horses from around the world will compete in 14 races over two days at Keeneland Race Course in Lexington, Ky., with the Breeders’ Cup Classic closing out Saturday’s races for older horses.

Trainer Bob Baffert has six horses entered in the event. Classier will race in the Breeders’ Cup Juvenile on Friday, only a few days after a debut win at Santa Anita, while another of Baffert’s 2-year-olds, Princess Noor, will saddle up in the Juvenile Fillies. Gamine will be one of the favorites in the Filly and Mare Sprint, and Authentic, Improbable and Maximum Security are set to go in the Breeders’ Cup Classic.

Gamine, it’s worth noting, tested positive for a trace of legal medication that was supposed to have been out of her system before she finished third in the Grade 1 Kentucky Oaks. Gamine also failed a drug test at Oaklawn Park in Arkansas, leading to her disqualification from an optional claiming victory in May.

Four-time Eclipse Award-winning trainer Chad Brown has 10 horses in five Breeders’ Cup events Saturday: the Turf Sprint (Front Run the Fed), Dirt Mile (Complexity), Filly and Mare Turf (Sistercharlie, My Sister Nat, Rushing Fall and Nay Lady Nay), Mile (Digital Age, Uni and Raging Bull) and Distaff (Dunbar Road).

Here are selections for each race Saturday. These contenders include the pick to win and other horses that will provide good value in multi-race wagers such as the Daily Double and the Pick 3-4-5-6 rather than exactas, trifectas and superfectas.

There will be a \$1 million guaranteed Ultra Pick 6 available on races 7 to 12, a \$2 million guaranteed late Pick 5 on races 8 to 12 and a \$2 million guaranteed late Pick 4 on races 9 to 12.

Odds listed are morning line

odds set by Keeneland. All post times are Eastern.

Filly and Mare Sprint

Fourth race, post time: 12:02 p.m. Seven-furlong race for fillies and mares, 3-year-olds and up.

Pick: No. 3 Come Dancing (8-1) Come Dancing, a five-time graded stakes winner, enters the Breeders’ Cup off a victory in the Grade 2 Honorable Miss Stakes at Saratoga. She put up a solid speed figure in that race (102) despite a fast pace, showing she has enough to go against this tough field Saturday. Plus, the presence of early front-runners sets up nicely for her pressing style.

Other contenders: No. 9 Bell’s the One

Turf Sprint

Fifth race, post time: 12:39 p.m. 5½-furlong race for 3-year-olds and up; to be run on the turf.

Pick: No. 6 Glass Slippers (GB) (12-1)

No filly or mare has won this race since 2013, and no European-based horse has ever won this race, but Glass Slippers comes in with a résumé that screams value. She notched a graded stakes win in the Derrinstown Stud Flying Five Stakes at the Curragh in Ireland and has finished second in two other stakes races events this year.

She’s also 5-2-2-0 at the distance of 5½ furlongs.

Plus, this is the race to take a shot at a decent payday. The average win payout for a \$2 wager in the Breeders’ Cup Turf Sprint is \$24.93, the most of any race on championship weekend.

Other contenders: No. 3 Impremis, No. 7 Leinster and No. 14 Extravagant Kid

Dirt Mile

Sixth race, post time: 1:18 p.m. One-mile race for 3-year-olds and up.

Pick: No. 9 Mr. Freeze (6-1) Mr. Freeze returns to a mile for the first time since July, when he



DARRON CUMMINGS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Trainer Bob Baffert has six horses entered in the Breeders’ Cup on Friday and Saturday.

finished a dismal sixth in the Metropolitan Handicap at Belmont Park. He had a host of troubles in that race — he was bumped early and wandered out to the seven path by the deep stretch — so it can be discounted completely. Otherwise, he is 3-2-1-0 in races at a mile, with two graded stakes wins.

He also has the third-fastest time at that distance in the field (106), per Brisnet speed figures. The two horses ahead of him, Knicks Go (110) and Complexity (109), both set those career highs in their previous race, indicating they could be in for a bounce — an inferior performance in the next race.

Other contenders: No. 5 Knicks Go, No. 7 Rushie and No. 10 Complexity

Filly and Mare Turf

Seventh race, post time: 1:57 p.m. 1⅞-mile race for fillies and mares, 3-year-olds and up; to be run on the turf.

Pick: No. 1 Starship Jubilee (10-1)

Starship Jubilee beat the boys in the Grade 1 Woodbine Mile Stakes in September, giving her five wins in six races this year. The lone miss, a fourth-place finish in the Grade 1 Diana Stakes, is a lot better than it looks on paper. She was pushed wide in that outing,

but after adjusting for her trip, Starship Jubilee had the second-fastest speed in the race (56.8 feet per second) behind Rushing Fall (56.9 feet per second).

Other contenders: No. 2 Sistercharlie, No. 6 Rushing Fall and No. 9 Harvey’s Lil Gail

Sprint

Eighth race, post time: 2:36 p.m. Six-furlong race for 3-year-olds and up.

Pick: No. 14 Vekoma (3-1)

Vekoma is the only horse in the field with two Grade 1 wins, earned over his past two starts. He has one other graded stakes win from 2019, the Grade 2 Blue Grass Stakes. His 105 Brisnet speed figure, produced in the Sir Shackleton Stakes at Gulfstream Park, is tied with Manny Wah for the highest in the field in a sprint, a race of less than a mile.

Other contenders: No. 5 Manny Wah, No. 7 Whitmore, No. 8 Firenze Fire and No. 10 Yaupon

Mile

Ninth race, post time: 3:15 p.m. One-mile race for 3-year-olds and up; to be run on the turf.

Pick: No. 2 Kameko (6-1)

Kameko was impressive in the Grade 1 Two Thousand Guineas Stakes at Newcastle to start the year, only to finish fourth in his next three races: the Grade 1 Investec Derby, the Grade 1 Qatar Sussex Stakes and the Grade 1 Juddmonte International Stakes. The 3-year-old was then triumphant in the Grade 2 Shadwell Joel Stakes at Newmarket in September, pushing his record at a mile on turf to 4-2-1-0.

Other contenders: No. 11 Ivar and No. 14 Raging Bull

Distaff

10th race, post time: 3:54 p.m. 1½-mile race for fillies and mares, 3-year-olds and up.

Pick: No. 10 Monomoy Girl (7-5) Chalk prevails in this race. Favorites have gone 15 for 36 (42 percent) in the Distaff, while 26 of the 36 winners went off at odds of less

than 5-1. Morning line favorite Monomoy Girl, the champion 3-year-old filly of 2018, has won nine of her past 10 races (all Graded Stakes events) and sports the highest career speed figure in the field (111), earned in the Ruffian Stakes in July at Belmont.

The decorated mare has also shown she can win wire-to-wire and slightly off the pace, which sets her up nicely in this race, with only one true front-runner.

Other contenders: No. 5 Swiss Skydiver

Turf

11th race, post time: 4:33 p.m. 1½-mile race for 3-year-olds and up; to be run on the turf.

Pick: No. 2 Magical (5-2)

European invaders fare well in the Breeders’ Cup Turf, accounting for 21 of the 37 winners of the race. Trainer Aidan O’Brien has won the race a record six times since 2002, and jockey Ryan Moore is 4 for 10 in this race, with six other top-four finishes. Both are connected to Magical, the 5-year-old daughter of Galileo, a champion 3-year-old in Europe with five Grade 1 wins under her belt.

Other contenders: No. 3 Tarnawa (IRE) and No. 9 Channel Maker

Classic

12th race, post time: 5:13 p.m. 1¼-mile race for 3-year-olds and up.

Pick: No. 10 Maximum Security (7-2)

The 4-year-old son of Breeders’ Cup Juvenile winner New Year’s Day has won three of four races this year: two graded stakes races plus the Saudi Cup, the world’s richest horse race. He was second to Improbable in the Grade 1 Awesome Again Stakes at Santa Anita in September but still set a new pace top in that race (109 pace figure at the half-mile mark), indicating he is primed to fire.

Other contenders: No. 1 Tacitus, No. 2 Tiz the Law and No. 8 Improbable

neil.greenberg@washpost.com

GOLF

Snedeker takes lead in Houston with a 65

Event is PGA Tour’s first in U.S. to allow fans since shutdown in March

ASSOCIATED PRESS

HOUSTON — Brandt Snedeker found a lot of fairways and greens at difficult Memorial Park, top-ranked Dustin Johnson returned from the coronavirus, and fans were back, too, Thursday at the Houston Open, where play was suspended because of darkness with nine players still on the course.

Play will resume at 7:30 a.m. Friday, and the second round is still set to begin as scheduled.

Snedeker shot a 5-under-par 65 in the afternoon to take a two-stroke lead in the last event before the Masters. He’s one of 37 players in the field this week set to play at Augusta National.

“Drove it great,” Snedeker said. “Around this golf course you have to be in the fairway. Otherwise it’s going to be a long day for you. Did a great job of that. Made some putts. And the par-5s, birdied every par-5 out there. This course is a long, tough golf course, so to play well you need to take advantage of the scoring holes, which I did a great job of today.”

The tournament — at public Memorial Park for the first time since 1963 — is limiting ticket sales to 2,000 a day. It’s the first domestic PGA Tour event to have fans since the Players Championship on March 12.

“I think that’s a big reason why I played well today,” Snedeker said. “I love having fans out here. I kind of feed off their energy. It’s great to hear some claps and people excited for good shots and some birdies.”

Johnson had a 72 — bogeying five of the last seven holes on his front nine — in his return after a positive coronavirus test knocked him out of the CJ Cup at Shadow Creek and the Zozo Championship at Sherwood.

The 39-year-old Snedeker won the most recent of his nine PGA Tour titles in 2018. He followed a birdie on the par-4 13th with a bogey on the par-4 14th after driving into the right rough, then birdied the par-3 15th and par-5 16th.

“I’ve been driving it well, so it just kind of depended how I hit my irons and kind of hung in there,” Snedeker said. “Did a great job of kind of thinking my way around the golf course.”

Jason Day was tied for second with Scottie Scheffler, Harold Varner III, Carlos Ortiz, Michael Thompson and Cameron Davis.

“The golf course kind of forces you into being patient just because you can’t really miss too many greens,” Scheffler said. “Around the greens out here is very, very difficult to get up-and-down, and you can get into some spots where you start playing ping-pong across these greens.”

Brooks Koepka also had a 72. He’s playing for the second time since a two-month layoff to heal injuries. Player partner Lanto Griffin, the winner last year at Golf Club of Houston, also shot 72. Jordan Spieth rounded out the morning threesome with a 72.

“It certainly felt more normal as we were playing today and especially as we were finishing up,” Spieth said about the fans. “Just the look of it is way more normal than when it was just so bare.”

Koepka served as a consultant on course architect Tom Doak’s renovation.

“I think every time Jordan hit it in the water, he told me that was my fault,” Koepka said.

Phil Mickelson shot a 76. He had two double bogeys and two bogeys.



DAVID J. PHILLIP/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Brandt Snedeker said having fans in attendance helped him.

BARRY SVRLUGA

In a challenging year, Leonsis stresses importance of maintaining mental health

SVRLUGA FROM D1

talk about it.”

So Leonsis is talking about it. We know that more than 1.2 million people have died worldwide of covid-19, the disease caused by the coronavirus. It’s an enormous number, one that would have seemed incomprehensible at this point 10 months ago.

Yet take a guess as to how many people take their own lives each year. According to the World Health Organization, it’s around 800,000 — or one every 40 seconds. Plus, the WHO says, “There are indications that for each adult who died by suicide there may have been more than 20 others attempting suicide.” And that’s without a pandemic

further coloring people’s moods or driving them to addictions.

Leonsis’s experiences are poignant personally and pertinent in the moment. In each case, he said, the call with the news of his friend’s suicide floored him. But he noticed, too, common themes. Not only were these friends unwilling to talk about their problems before they took drastic action, but the way they died wasn’t discussed in the aftermath. Their families and friends couldn’t or wouldn’t talk about it. That’s both completely understandable and absolutely damaging.

“So we’re on rinse-and-repeat mode,” Leonsis said. “And now the pandemic hits, and we have every single day a hammering on our collective psyche of anxiety,

depression. Whatever’s going to happen to our collective and individual mental health could be, in terms of numbers, as bad or worse than the actual pandemic. But we won’t really face it.”

What does this have to do with sports? Leonsis, as we all should, worries about his family and friends. But, as we all should, he worries, too, about the players who perform for us — the players who work for his three professional teams.

For generations, athletes have been trained not to show vulnerability. That’s both physically, by playing through pain, and mentally, maintaining focus despite external distractions.

But in 2020, suppressing those

emotions feels neither healthy nor realistic. And yet opening up remains a struggle. Back in the summer, when Major League Baseball was navigating a shortened season in which games were played in front of empty ballparks and players endured the stresses of regular virus testing coupled with travel, I wrote about the mental strains of trying to perform under such circumstances. A piece that I thought would engender sympathy and understanding instead elicited, from some corners, scorn. As in: “They’re paid millions of dollars to play a game. Get over it.”

Really? Leonsis, who prides himself on being relentlessly positive, notices the same thing. “Every time, when an athlete

says they suffer from depression and they’re ridiculed, I shudder,” he said. So with his teams in these times, he wants to be straightforward about it.

“I think it’s really important for athletes, for businesses, to more and more say, ‘We want to treat not just the whole body but the whole person.’” Leonsis said. “And by the way, that ends up being good business, too. It’s not the opposite. If you’ve got individuals that are firing on all cylinders, they’ll be your best employees. They’ll be your best performers on the court or on the ice. . . .

“I try to communicate that with honesty. If you trust us, you trust me enough, to say, ‘Yes, I’m having an issue,’ my estimation of you increases. Just as they get

measured in vertical jump or body fat, they should be measured in how they’re doing. And if they have a mental health issue, we should be there to help. There are tools that can help.”

We could all use those tools these days. The country is clearly divided. The virus is still here. The holidays are approaching. There are no Caps or Wizards games where we could gather with buddies and let off some steam. Ted’s message could apply to his players. But it really should apply to us all. If you’re struggling, say so. It’s okay.

“I don’t want to lose any more friends,” Leonsis said.

barry.svrluga@washpost.com

For more by Barry Svrluga, visit [washingtonpost.com/svrluga](https://www.washingtonpost.com/svrluga).

WEEKEND TV AND RADIO

Tomorrow

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Noon	Liberty at Virginia Tech » ACC Network, WJFK (106.7 FM)
Noon	West Virginia at Texas » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
Noon	Arizona State at Southern California » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
Noon	Michigan State at Iowa » ESPN
Noon	North Carolina at Duke » ESPN2
Noon	Michigan at Indiana » Fox Sports 1
Noon	Arkansas State at Louisiana Lafayette » ESPN
Noon	Nebraska at Northwestern » Big Ten Network
2 p.m.	Boston College at Syracuse » MASN
3:30 p.m.	Maryland at Penn State » Big Ten Network, WTEM (980 AM)
3:30 p.m.	Houston at Cincinnati » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
3:30 p.m.	Florida vs. Georgia » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
3:30 p.m.	Kansas at Oklahoma » ESPN
3:30 p.m.	Arizona at Utah » ESPN2
3:30 p.m.	Texas Tech at TCU » Fox Sports 1
3:30 p.m.	Vanderbilt at Mississippi State » SEC Network
3:30 p.m.	Fresno State at UNLV » CBS Sports Network
4 p.m.	Oklahoma State at Kansas State » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
4 p.m.	Pittsburgh at Florida State » ACC Network
6 p.m.	Western Kentucky at Florida Atlantic » MASN2
7 p.m.	Texas A&M at South Carolina » ESPN
7 p.m.	UCLA at Colorado » ESPN2
7 p.m.	Baylor at Iowa State » Fox Sports 1
7:30 p.m.	Stanford at Oregon » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
7:30 p.m.	Clemson at Notre Dame » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
7:30 p.m.	Tennessee at Arkansas » SEC Network
7:30 p.m.	Rutgers at Ohio State » Big Ten Network
8 p.m.	South Alabama at Coastal Carolina » ESPN
10:30 p.m.	Washington State at Oregon State » Fox Sports 1

SOCCER

7:25 a.m.	English Premier League: Manchester United at Everton » NBC Sports Network
9:55 a.m.	English Premier League: Leeds United at Crystal Palace » NBC Sports Network
10:05 a.m.	Spanish La Liga: Real Betis at Barcelona » beIN Sports
12:20 p.m.	Spanish La Liga: Osasuna at Sevilla » beIN Sports
12:30 p.m.	English Premier League: Sheffield United at Chelsea » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
2:55 p.m.	French Ligue 1: Rennes at Paris Saint-Germain » beIN Sports

GOLF

5 a.m.	European Tour: Cyprus Showdown, third round » Golf Channel
1 p.m.	PGA Tour: Houston Open, third round » Golf Channel
4 p.m.	PGA Tour Champions: Charles Schwab Cup Championship, second round » Golf Channel

AUTO RACING

5 p.m.	NASCAR Xfinity Series: Desert Diamond Casino West Valley 200 » NBC Sports Network
--------	--

HORSE RACING

Noon	Breeders' Cup, Day 2 » NBC Sports Network
2:30 p.m.	Breeders' Cup, Day 2 » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)

TENNIS

5:30 a.m.	ATP: Paris Masters, semifinals » Tennis Channel
-----------	--

BOXING

8 p.m.	PBC Fight Night: Luis Ortiz vs. Alexander Flores (heavyweights) » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
--------	--

MIXED MARTIAL ARTS

10 p.m.	UFC Fight Night: Thiago Santos vs. Glover Teixeira (light heavyweights) » ESPN2
---------	--

MEN'S COLLEGE SOCCER

7 p.m.	Wake Forest at North Carolina State » MASN
--------	---

Sunday

NFL

1 p.m.	New York Giants at Washington » WTTG (Ch. 5), WTEM (980 AM), WBSN (630 AM), WMAL (105.9 FM)
1 p.m.	Baltimore at Indianapolis » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13), WWDC (104.7 FM), WYIY (97.9 FM), WBAL (1090 AM)
4:05 p.m.	Las Vegas at Los Angeles Chargers » WBFF (Ch. 45)
4:25 p.m.	Pittsburgh at Dallas » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
8:20 p.m.	New Orleans at Tampa Bay » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11), WJFK (106.7 FM)

SOCCER

6:15 a.m.	Italian Serie A: Juventus at Lazio » ESPN2
7 a.m.	English Premier League: Tottenham at West Bromwich » NBC Sports Network
8:55 a.m.	English Premier League: Wolverhampton at Leicester City » NBC Sports Network
10:05 a.m.	Spanish La Liga: Granada at Real Sociedad » beIN Sports
12:20 p.m.	Spanish La Liga: Deportivo Alavés at Levante » beIN Sports
2:50 p.m.	Spanish La Liga: Real Madrid at Valencia » beIN Sports
3:30 p.m.	MLS: Montreal at D.C. United » WJLA 24/7 News
6:30 p.m.	MLS: Portland at Los Angeles FC » Fox Sports 1

GOLF

4:30 a.m.	European Tour: Cyprus Showdown, final round » Golf Channel
1 p.m.	PGA Tour: Houston Open, final round » Golf Channel
4 p.m.	PGA Tour Champions: Charles Schwab Cup Championship, final round » Golf Channel

AUTO RACING

3 p.m.	NASCAR Cup Series: Season Finale 500 » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
--------	--

TENNIS

6:15 a.m.	ATP: Paris Open, doubles final » Tennis Channel
9 a.m.	ATP: Paris Open, singles final; Sofia Open, first round » Tennis Channel

FIGURE SKATING

Noon	Cup of China » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
------	--

KOREA BASEBALL ORGANIZATION

4:25 a.m.	Playoffs, Game 1: Teams TBD » ESPN2 (Monday)
-----------	---

COLLEGE FIELD HOCKEY

Noon	ACC tournament, final: Teams TBD » ACC Network
------	---

WOMEN'S COLLEGE VOLLEYBALL

2 p.m.	Alabama at Georgia » SEC Network
4 p.m.	Auburn at Kentucky » SEC Network

WOMEN'S COLLEGE SOCCER

6 p.m.	Florida at Missouri » SEC Network
--------	--

COLLEGE TENNIS

4 p.m.	ITA women's fall national championship » ESPN
6 p.m.	ITA men's fall national championship » ESPN

PRO FOOTBALL

NFL

NFC

EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Philadelphia	3	4	1	.438	186	205
Washington	2	5	0	.286	133	165
Dallas	2	6	0	.250	185	266
N.Y. Giants	1	7	0	.125	145	199

SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Tampa Bay	6	2	0	.750	247	165
New Orleans	5	2	0	.714	206	197
Carolina	3	5	0	.375	179	193
Atlanta	2	6	0	.250	209	224

NORTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Green Bay	6	2	0	.750	253	204
Chicago	5	3	0	.625	161	166
Detroit	3	4	0	.429	177	206
Minnesota	2	5	0	.286	183	214

WEST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Seattle	6	1	0	.857	240	199
Arizona	5	2	0	.714	203	146
L.A. Rams	5	3	0	.625	193	152
San Francisco	4	5	0	.444	225	207

AFC

EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Buffalo	6	2	0	.750	199	190
Miami	4	3	0	.571	188	130
New England	2	5	0	.286	136	167
N.Y. Jets	0	8	0	.000	94	238

SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Indianapolis	5	2	0	.714	198	136
Tennessee	5	2	0	.714	208	184
Houston	1	6	0	.143	166	217
Jacksonville	1	6	0	.143	154	220

NORTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Pittsburgh	7	0	0	1.000	211	142
Baltimore	5	2	0	.714	203	132
Cleveland	5	3	0	.625	206	237
Cincinnati	2	5	1	.313	194	214

WEST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Kansas City	7	1	0	.875	253	152
Las Vegas	4	3	0	.571	187	203
Denver	3	4	0	.429	147	183
L.A. Chargers	2	5	0	.286	179	185

WEEK 9

THURSDAY'S RESULT

Green Bay 34, at San Francisco 17

SUNDAY'S GAMES

N.Y. Giants at Washington (-3), 1
Baltimore (-2½) at Indianapolis, 1
Carolina at Kansas City (-10½), 1
Chicago at Tennessee (-5½), 1
Denver at Atlanta (-3½), 1
Detroit at Minnesota (-4), 1
Houston (-7) at Jacksonville, 1
Seattle (-2½) at Buffalo, 1
Las Vegas at L.A. Chargers (-1), 4:05
Miami at Arizona (-5), 4:25
Pittsburgh (-13½) at Dallas, 4:25
New Orleans at Tampa Bay (-5), 8:20
BYE: Cincinnati, Cleveland, L.A. Rams, Philadelphia

MONDAY'S GAME

New England (-7½) at N.Y. Jets, 8:15

WEEK 10

THURSDAY'S GAME

Indianapolis at Tennessee, 8:20

SUNDAY, NOV. 15

Washington at Detroit, 1
Baltimore at New England, 8:20
Houston at Cleveland, 1
Jacksonville at Green Bay, 1
Philadelphia at N.Y. Giants, 1
Tampa Bay at Carolina, 1
Buffalo at Arizona, 4:05
Denver at Las Vegas, 4:05
L.A. Chargers at Miami, 4:05
Cincinnati at Pittsburgh, 4:25
San Francisco at New Orleans, 4:25
Seattle at L.A. Rams, 4:25
BYE: Kansas City, N.Y. Jets, Atlanta, Dallas

MONDAY, NOV. 16

Minnesota at Chicago, 8:15

Packers 34, 49ers 17

PACKERS	7	14	10	3	—	34
49ERS	3	0	0	14	—	17

FIRST QUARTER
GB: D.Adams 36 pass from Rodgers (Crosby kick), 11:42.
San Francisco: FG Gould 22, 4:7.

SECOND QUARTER

GB: Lewis 1 pass from Rodgers (Crosby kick), 7:01.
GB: Valdes-Scantling 52 pass from Rodgers (Crosby kick), 1:53.

THIRD QUARTER

GB: Valdes-Scantling 1 pass from Rodgers (Crosby kick), 7:17.
GB: FG Crosby 19, 2:01.

FOURTH QUARTER

GB: FG Crosby 53, 6:15.
San Francisco: James 41 pass from Mullens (Gould kick), 5:00.
San Francisco: McKinnon 1 run (Gould kick), 3:04.

First Downs	PACKERS	49ERS
Total Net Yards	405	337
Rushes-Yards	31-111	17-55
Passing	294	282
Punt Returns	0-0	1-13
Kickoff Returns	1-5	6-135
Interceptions Ret.	1-17	0-0
Comp-Att-Int	25-31-0	22-35-1
Sacked-Yards Lost	1-11	1-9
Fumbles-Lost	0-0	1-1
Penalties-Yards	5-45	4-33
Time Of Possession	36:30	23:30

RUSHING

Green Bay: Jones 15-58, Ervin 8-24, Taylor 1-9, Williams 2-8, Rodgers 1-7, Lovett 3-6, Boyle 1 (-minus 1).
San Francisco: McKinnon 12-52, Hasty 4-3, Mullens 1-0.

PASSING

Green Bay: Rodgers 25-31-0-305.
San Francisco: Mullens 22-35-1-291.

RECEIVING

Green Bay: D.Adams 10-173, Jones 5-21, Ervin 4-48, Valdes-Scantling 2-53, Tonyan 1-5, Shephard 1-3, Lewis 1-1, Stenberg 1-1.
San Francisco: James 9-184, Dweley 3-52, McKinnon 3-16, Cracraft 2-13, Hasty 2-10, T.Taylor 1-9, Juszczyk 1-4, Reed 1-3.

TRANSACTIONS

MLB
Baltimore Orioles: Acquired INFs A.J. Granoffino and Greg Cullen from Atlanta to complete the Aug. 30 trade for LHP Tommy Milone.
Oakland Athletics: Acquired OF Junior Perez from San Diego to complete the June 30 trade for INF Jorge Mateo.
Arizona Diamondbacks: Acquired SS Ronny Simon from Chicago Cubs to complete the Aug. 31 trade for LHP Andrew Chafin.

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

NCAA

WEDNESDAY'S RESULTS

at Kent State 27, E. Michigan 23
W. Michigan 58, at Akron 13
at Miami (Ohio) 38, Ball State 31
at Cent. Michigan 30, Ohio 27
Buffalo 49, at N. Illinois 30
at Toledo 38, Bowling Green 3

THURSDAY'S RESULTS

at Nevada 34, Utah State 9
Wyoming at Colorado State, Late
FRIDAY'S GAMES
Miami (5-1) at N.C. State (4-2), 7:30
San Jose State (2-0) at San Diego State (2-0), 9
BYU (7-0) at Boise State (2-0), 9:45

SATURDAY'S GAMES

EAST
Tulsa (3-1) at Navy (3-4), ppd. (virus)
Air Force (1-2) at Army (6-1), 11:30 a.m.
SMU (6-1) at Temple (1-3), Noon
Boston College (4-3) at Syracuse (1-6), 2
L.A. Rams (0-2) at Illinois (0-2), 3:30
Maryland (1-1) at Penn State (0-2), 3:30

SOUTH

Louisville (2-5) at Virginia (2-4), ppd. (virus)
Liberty (6-0) at Virginia Tech (6-2), Noon
Arkansas State (3-4) at Louisiana Lafayette (5-1), Noon
Louisiana Monroe (0-7) at Georgia State (2-3), Noon
Tulane (3-4) at East Carolina (1-4), Noon
North Carolina (4-2) at Duke (2-5), Noon
South Florida (1-5) at Memphis (3-2), Noon
Troy (4-2) at Georgia Southern (4-2), 1
North Alabama (0-2) at Southern Miss. (1-5), 3
Florida Tech (4-3) at E. Kentucky (2-4), 3
Charlotte (2-5) at Middle Tennessee (2-5), 3:30
Vanderbilt (0-4) at Mississippi State (1-4), 3:30
Florida (3-1) vs. Georgia (4-1) at Jacksonville, Fla., 3:30
Pittsburgh (3-4) at Florida State (2-4), 4
W. Kentucky (2-5) at FAU (2-1), 6
Texas A&M (4-1) at South Carolina (2-3),



Trustee Sales
202-334-5782

**mypublicnotices.com/
washingtonpost/
PublicNotice.asp**

Legal Notices: 202-334-7007
Auctions, Estate Sales, Furniture: 202-334-7029
Biz Ops/Services: 202-334-5787

[illegible]

SEASIDE IN THE NORTHERN MARSHES - 100 ACRES, 100' x 63 DEGREES 30 MINUTES 00 SECONDS E 164.30 FEET TO THE POINT BEGINNING, CONTAINING 1.120 ACRES, MORE OR LESS.

TERMS OF SALE: ALL CASH. A bid deposit (equal to 10% of the sale price or ten percent (10%) of the original principal balance of the debt of Trust, whichever is lower, in the form of cash or certified funds payable to the Substitute Trustee must be present at the time of the sale. The balance of the purchase price will be due within fifteen (15) days of sale. Otherwise Purchaser's deposit may be forfeited to Trustee. Time is of the essence. If the sale is set aside for any reason, the Purchaser at the sale shall be entitled to a return of the deposit paid. The Purchaser may, provided by the terms of the Trustee's Memorandum of Understanding, be entitled to a 150 cancellation fee from the Substitute Trustee, but shall have no further recourse against the Mortgagee, the Mortgagee or the Mortgagee's attorney. A form copy of the Trustee's memorandum of foreclosure sale and contract to purchase real property is available for viewing at www.bwvsales.com. BIDDERS ARE INVITED TO ENQUIRE TO FOLLOW CDD GUIDANCE AND WEAR A COVER OVER BOTH NOSE AND MOUTH AND PRACTICE SOCIAL DISTANCING AT THE AUCTION. The date, time and place to be announced at the sale and the Purchaser may be given the option to extend the closing of the sale electronically. This is a communication from a debt collector and any information obtained will be used for that purpose. The sale is subject to seller confirmation. Substitute Trustee: Equity Trustees, LLC, 8100 Third Echop Road, Suite 200, Richmond, VA 23229. For more information contact: BWV Law Group, LLC, attorneys for Equity Trustees, LLC, Executive Blvd., Suite 101, Rockville, MD 20852, 301-961-6355. Website: www.bwvsales.com. VA 350030-1.

November 6, 13, 2020 12325002-1

Time Shares Rentals, Sales

Timeshare Cancellation Experts
Wesley Financial Group, LLC
We are the #1 in the industry and have fees cancelled in 2019. Get free informational package and turn now into a refund of your timeshare! Free consultations. Over 450 positive reviews. Call 888-984-2917

210 **Art**
Berthe Morisot water color.
Call for more details
540-459-8829

225 **Collectibles**
Charles Schultz last peanuts cartoon. Full Washington Post Edition 540-459-8829

Retropolis
wpost.com/retropolis/ <https://www.wpost.com/retropolis/>

MALTESE PUPPIES - 9 weeks old, very cute, cuddly, 1st born & dewormed. \$1650.
Please call Page 770-967-3240

PUG PUPPIES - C&C. Fawns, M&F. 8 weeks, wormed, vet checked. Irresistibly cute. Ready now. \$1800. Call 540-679-9492

Did you hear The Post today?
wpost.com/podcasts

Muscles wear as noodles...
Read "Medical Mysteries... Tuesdays in Health & Science."
[wapo.si/mcmedicalmysteries](https://www.wapo.si/mcmedicalmysteries)

Home delivery starts your day off right.
1-800-753-POST

Retropolis
wpost.com/retropolis/ <https://www.wpost.com/retropolis/>

If only you had home delivery, 1-800-753-POST

S0141 10x5.25

WEEKEND

Taking the 'brrr' out of brunch

Restaurants where diners won't be left out in the cold **9**

SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

DINING

Tired of cooking through the pandemic? Let restaurants cover Thanksgiving dinner. **4**

ON STAGE

Indoor performances in D.C. resume with GALA Theatre's "El Perro del Hortelano." **12**



MOVIES

In the moving modern western 'Let Him Go,' two mothers clash over the fate of a little boy. **16**



BOOK DISCUSSION

Why We Serve: Native Americans in the United States Armed Forces

Thursday, Nov. 12, 2 p.m. | Free | Registration required via Zoom

Join Alexandra Harris, co-author of *Why We Serve: Native Americans in the United States Armed Forces*, for a virtual discussion about identity and the warrior stereotype of Native people serving in the military, as well as actual—and remarkable—traditions of peace and war within American Indian communities.

More information at AmericanIndian.si.edu

Gus Palmer Sr. (Kiowa, at left), side gunner, and Horace Poolaw (Kiowa), aerial photographer, in front of a B-17 Flying Fortress, MacDill Field, Tampa, Florida, ca. 1944. Photo by Horace Poolaw. 45UFL12 © Estate of Horace Poolaw



Explore cuisines

Search our database of tested recipes by ingredient or name.
washingtonpost.com/recipes

The Washington Post



S0115-2x4

Did you hear The Post today?

Washington Post podcasts go with you everywhere

wpost.com/podcasts

Politics • History • Culture • More



S0108-2x5

A gift for home delivery subscribers!



Look for your 2021 Washington Post Calendar

featuring beautiful local scenes captured by
The Post's award-winning photographers,
Sunday, November 8
inside your Sunday Post Marketplace insert package.

The Washington Post

The Washington Post delivers all year long.

Not a subscriber? Call 202-334-6100 or go to washingtonpost.com today!

S0856 -3x12

Editor’s note: Although the District, Maryland and Virginia are reopening more businesses and attractions, these recommendations will be a mix of virtual and in-person events for the foreseeable future. You will find the latest developments at [washingtonpost.com/coronavirus](https://www.washingtonpost.com/coronavirus) and updates on the local entertainment scene at [goingoutguide.com](https://www.goingoutguide.com).

Carpe Librum outdoor markets

The weather forecast for this weekend is unseasonably pleasant. Take the opportunity to explore Carpe Librum’s outdoor markets on Saturday (at Navy Yard’s Canal Park) and Sunday (in Georgetown) to stock up on books, music and movies for when conditions inevitably dip back below your comfort zone. Carpe Librum, which operates stores that sell used books to raise money to support the nonprofit education group Turning the Page, is bringing an array of goods new and old (all priced less than \$6) primed for the nights you’ll probably be spending indoors this winter. Masks will be required at all times in the market, and only electronic payments will be accepted to minimize contact.

When: Saturday and Sunday from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.
Where: Saturday at 200 M St. SE., and Sunday at 3217 P St. NW. [facebook.com/carpe.librumdc](https://www.facebook.com/carpe.librumdc).
Admission: Free.

On the cover

Belga Cafe on Barracks Row offers outdoor greenhouses for dining.



2018 PHOTO BY ASTRID RIECKEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

An honor guard patrols the Tomb of the Unknowns at Arlington National Cemetery. This year’s wreath-laying ceremony will be closed to the public but will be live-streamed.

Veterans Day

Tributes to America’s service members will look different this year. Arlington National Cemetery is open from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Wednesday, though there will not be a remembrance ceremony at the Memorial Amphitheater, and the wreath-laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknowns is closed to the public. (The latter will be live-streamed, starting at 11 a.m., and a link is available on [arlingtoncemetery.mil](https://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil).) Visitors to the cemetery are required to wear face coverings. The Friends of the National World War II Memorial, which hosts a ceremony and wreath-laying on the Mall, has moved its Nov. 11 observance onto its Facebook page, [facebook.com/WWIIMemorialFriends](https://www.facebook.com/WWIIMemorialFriends), with the event beginning at 9 a.m.

The National Museum of the American Indian officially opens the National Native American Veterans Memorial on the Mall on Veterans Day. There will not be an in-person program, but the museum will have a virtual tour and tributes to veterans on its website, [americanindian.si.edu](https://www.americanindian.si.edu). The Library of Congress’ Veterans History Project, which records the memories of veterans, marks its 20th anniversary with nine days of virtual concerts and online discussions on [loc.gov](https://www.loc.gov), beginning Nov. 6. Finally, those looking for an in-person experience can visit the free National Museum of the Marine Corps, in Quantico, which is open daily from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., subject to limits on capacity.

Ice skating at Reston Town Center

If the recent dip in temperatures has inspired thoughts of lacing up your skates and gliding up and down a sheet of ice, you’re in luck: The glass-roofed pavilion at Reston Town Center has made its annual transformation into an outdoor ice rink. There are precautions against the coronavirus, including reduced capacity and touch-free payment, and reservations can be made online. With the popular D.C. rinks at the National Gallery of Art and Washington Harbour staying closed this winter, it’s a good idea to buy tickets for the 90-minute sessions in advance.

When: Daily through mid-March.
Where: 1818 Discovery St., Reston. [restontowncenter.com/skating](https://www.restontowncenter.com/skating).
Tickets: Admission \$9-\$10; skate rental \$7.



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Dr. Anthony Fauci.

An Evening With Dr. Anthony S. Fauci

As coronavirus cases continue to rise across the country, and hospitals reach capacity, many people are worried about what coming months will bring. Will there be another wave? Where is the vaccine? When will life return to normal — or is this the new normal? Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the director of the National Institute for Allergy and Infectious Disease, is the guest speaker at Washington National Cathedral’s annual Ignatius Forum, where he’ll discuss the pandemic with Adi Ignatius, editor in chief of the Harvard Business Review, and how we might prevent the next one. Tickets to the virtual Q&A are free, though donations to the cathedral are welcome.

When: Thursday at 7 p.m.
Where: [cathedral.org](https://www.cathedral.org).
Admission: Free, donations accepted.

Giving thanks to others for the cooking

D.C. restaurants offer an array of take-home meals for Thanksgiving

BY ADELE CHAPIN

The Thanksgiving holiday usually revolves around travel and home-cooked meals, but this year is an exception. If the coronavirus pandemic has you staying in town, and if you're completely sick of meal prep at this point, you can still enjoy a plate of turkey with all the trimmings. Here's where to find a Thanksgiving dinner to-go in the D.C. area, whether you'll be virtually eating with family members during a communal Zoom, planning a small outdoor Friendsgiving feast, or just wanting to outsource the stuffing. Order early, if possible — some spots, such as Denizens Brewing Co., have already sold out their Thanksgiving meals.

Note: Many of these restaurants offer meals for a variety of group sizes; check the websites for more information.

Thanksgiving for 1

1789 and Clyde's

Preorder by: noon on Nov. 22

Pick up: 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. on Thanksgiving Day

Clyde's restaurants throughout the area are serving a \$32.99 traditional turkey dinner for one that has all the bases covered (including white and dark turkey meat, mashed potatoes, cranberry sauce and a choice of pie). Sister fine dining restaurant 1789 in Georgetown goes a bit fancier with a \$75 Thanksgiving meal for the solo diner, including chestnut stuffing and roasted honey nut squash soup with dessert choices including pumpkin cheesecake. 1789restaurant.com; clydes.com.

Convivial

Preorder by: 5 p.m. on Nov. 24

Pick up: 11:15 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. on Thanksgiving Day

Thanksgiving dinner for one at chef Cedric Maupillier's French bistro in Shaw is a \$58 three-course affair, beginning with a choice of soup or salad (or venison country pâté) leading into a turkey plate that includes mashed potatoes, chestnut and mushroom stuffing and yam gratin and then decidedly American dessert options such as apple pie. convivialdc.com.

Pop's SeaBar

Preorder by: 9 p.m. on Nov. 23

Pick up: Noon to 2 p.m. on Thanksgiving Day



ROSE COLLINS

Neighborhood Provisions offers delivery of its Thanksgiving dishes to customers in D.C. and parts of Maryland and Virginia.



PHOTOS BY REEMA DESAI

If you're someone who thinks that it's not Thanksgiving without green bean casserole and pumpkin pie on the table, consider ordering from Occasions Caterer.

This Jersey Shore-themed Adams Morgan spot is throwing out all the rules and serving lobster instead of turkey. (Why not?) The Zoom conversation-starter \$31.99 platter for one includes a hefty lobster with drawn butter, corn and German potato salad on the side. popsseabar.com.

Thanksgiving for 2

Bresca

Preorder by: Nov. 25

Pick up: Noon to 8:30 p.m. on Nov. 25 and Thanksgiving Day

Brioche stuffing is on the menu at 14th Street's Michelin-starred Bresca, where a \$125 Thanksgiving meal for two includes a portion of heritage turkey accompanied by such sides as two casseroles (green bean and sweet potato) and milk bread loaves with port wine cranberry jam. The meal includes an apple galette for dessert. brescadc.com.

Sababa

Preorder by: Nov. 25, or even Thanksgiving Day, if it's not sold out

Pick up: Noon to 9 p.m. on Thanksgiving Day; home delivery available via UberEats or DoorDash.

For something a little different, Israeli restaurant Sababa's three-

SEE THANKSGIVING ON 5

THANKSGIVING FROM 4

course Thanksgiving dinner for two involves turkey kofta kebabs and tahini green bean casserole, ending with pumpkin spice malabi (Israeli milk pudding). The to-go meal is priced at \$70 for two. sababauptown.com.

Neighborhood Provisions

Preorder by: 9 p.m. two days before pickup or delivery

Pick up: Nov. 23-25 at various locations; home delivery available in D.C., Montgomery County, Arlington, Alexandria and parts of Fairfax County

This local restaurant group's online delivery shop promises there will be leftovers from its \$95 Thanksgiving meal for two. Load up a plate with herb-rubbed turkey breast and gravy, stuffing, buttermilk mashed potatoes, cheddar cheese-smothered broccoli, cranberry sauce and a green salad. nrgprovisions.com.

Hank's Oyster Bar

Preorder by: Nov. 19

Pick up: 4 to 7 p.m. on Nov. 25, 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. on Thanksgiving Day in Dupont Circle and Alexandria; home delivery available for \$15 in D.C. and most of Alexandria

For \$120, Hank's is dishing out a Thanksgiving feast for two to three diners, starring smoky turkey with peppercorn gravy and a choice of four sides (including caramelized sweet potato casserole and Chesapeake oyster stuffing). A whole pumpkin streusel pie is included, too. hanksoysterbar.com.

Sfoglina

Preorder by: Nov. 22

Pick up: noon to 9 p.m. on Nov. 25; 5 to 9 p.m. in Rosslyn

Fabio Trabocchi's more casual (by his exacting standards) pasta spot Sfoglina is whipping up a \$180 takeout Thanksgiving meals for two featuring light and dark turkey meat and so many accoutrements. Think a half gallon of apple cider, Italian egg drop soup, sweet potato puree, cranberry relish, pappardelle with Bolognese ragu and individual pecan and pumpkin pies. sfoglinapasta.com.

Thanksgiving for 4

Joe's Seafood, Prime Steak & Stone Crab

Preorder by: 5 p.m. on Nov. 18

Pick up: 11 a.m. to 7 p.m. on Nov. 25

Pick up a \$250 dinner for four from Joe's the day before Thanksgiving, and then the only cooking you'll do on the big day is reheating such dishes as roasted turkey breast with leg and thigh confit and pan gravy, and mashed potatoes. And for dessert: pumpkin chiffon pie. You can also add on an order of the seafood chain's

Joe's Seafood, Prime Steak & Stone Crab is offering to-go Thanksgiving meals as well as an array of pies.

famous stone crabs, too. joes.net/dc.

Modena

Preorder by: 72 hours before pickup

Pick up: Noon to 9 p.m. on Nov. 24-25, and 11 a.m. to noon on Thanksgiving Day

Downtown restaurant Modena will take care of roasting a 12-pound free-range turkey and preparing a plethora of Italian-inspired sides for its \$225 Thanksgiving feast, which feeds four to five people. Fixings such as cornbread stuffing and cranberry chutney come with the bird, along with a choice of such dishes as Parmesan polenta or bourbon chocolate pecan pie. modenadc.com.

Occasions Caterers

Preorder by: Nov. 13 for delivery on Nov. 18 or 20; Nov. 18 for delivery on Nov. 24-25 or pickup on Nov. 25.

Pick up: 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. on Nov. 25; home delivery available on Nov. 18, 20, 24 and 25.

In addition to many a la carte options, Occasion Caterers is packaging "Thanksgiving Kits" complete with a citrus-thyme brined and herb-and butter-stuffed heritage Pennsylvania turkey that comes in its own roasting pan, ready to pop in the oven at home (an already roasted version is available, too). The \$225 kit serves four to six diners, pairing the 16-pound bird with classic sides such as gravy, cranberry and citrus relish, buttermilk whipped potatoes and stuff-



ANJALI PINTO



CHRISTINA SLATON

ing accented with sage and sausage. occasionscaterers.com.

Rose's Luxury

Preorder by: 11 a.m. the day before pickup, or until sold out

Pick up: Nov. 24-25 and Thanksgiving Day; home delivery also available for no additional fee

Rose's Luxury chef Aaron Silverman's spin on Thanksgiving includes typically creative takes such as a charred Brussels sprout Caesar salad and a roasted, lemon-pepper brined half turkey — but he also throws in can't beat 'em staples like a can of Ocean Spray cranberry sauce and King's Hawaiian Rolls. The Barracks Row restaurant's Thanksgiving feast feeds up to four diners for \$240, with a portion of the price donated to the DC Food Project. rosesluxury.com.

Thanksgiving for 6

Seven Reasons

Preorder by: Nov. 19

Pick up: 2 to 4 p.m. on Thanksgiving Day

Splurge on a Thanksgiving

feast from Washington Post critic Tom Sietsema's favorite restaurant of 2019, Seven Reasons. For \$480, Chef Enrique Limardo's meal for six includes a choice of roasted turkey, roasted prime rib or stuffed and roasted calabaza (a winter squash), with sides including mango-cranberry sauce and truffled mashed potatoes. sevenreasonsdc.com.

Unconventional Diner

Preorder by: Nov. 23

Pick up: 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. on Thanksgiving Day

The Shaw restaurant specializes in dressed-up comfort food, and that's true for Thanksgiving takeout as well. Besides roasted turkey with garlic, orange and rosemary, there's chestnut velouté, red skin mashed potatoes and pumpkin pie with whipped mascarpone. The meal for six diners is \$160. unconventionaldiner.com.

Wildwood Kitchen

Preorder by: Nov. 20

Pick up: Noon to 8 p.m. on Nov. 25

In Bethesda, chef Robert Wied-

maier has a very Norman Rockwell version of Thanksgiving dinner planned to-go, including a ready-to-roast brined turkey with compound butter and a spread featuring the likes of green bean casserole, Waldorf salad and pumpkin pie. For six guests, the feast comes out to \$250. wildwoodkitchenrw.com.

Thanksgiving a la carte

Founding Farmers

Preorder by: 3 p.m. on Nov. 23

Pick up: Nov. 25

This perennially popular local chain with outposts in D.C., Maryland and Virginia has basically every meal covered for pickup during the holiday weekend, from a Thanksgiving breakfast to entrees, sides, and desserts for the big dinner and even a Thanksgiving leftover kit for the next day. Note: Founding Farmers DC is the only location not participating. In the district, Farmers & Distillers and Farmers Fishers Bakers will offer Thanksgiving a la carte. wearefoundingfarmers.com.

Glen's Garden Market

Preorder by: Midnight on Nov. 24

Pick up: Nov 23-25, with the last pickup opportunity at noon on Thanksgiving Day.

At this Dupont Circle grocery store and catering operation, opt for platters of carved roast turkey or cheese and charcuterie, whatever fits your holiday celebration. The lengthy a la carte menu also includes kale salads, traditional sides and pies from Whisked! Bakery. glensgardenmarket.com.

Officina

Preorder by: 8 p.m. on Nov. 19

Pick up: 1 to 3 p.m. on Nov. 25 and Thanksgiving Day at the Wharf and Georgetown locations

Luxe Italian market and restaurant Officina is offering up turkey and prime rib centerpieces to-go, and the Thanksgiving a la carte menu includes equally impressive sides and desserts, with servings big enough for four to six diners. Think \$36 sweet potato gnudi, \$59 focaccia and black truffle stuffing or \$24 coffee-soaked tiramisu. officinadc.com.

Tail Up Goat

Preorder by: Nov. 13

Pick up: 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. on Nov. 25

The acclaimed Adams Morgan restaurant is selling every component of the Thanksgiving table to-go, from \$10 buttery made-from-scratch dinner rolls to a \$46 caramel apple pie. Let them handle the turkey, too, with either a \$30 sumac and fennel pollen finishing salt-crusted roasted turkey breast or a \$25 applewood smoked turkey leg (the citrus-brined, spatchcocked whole turkey is sold out). goingoutguide@washpost.com

November's cornucopia of concerts

Groups near and far to stream performances

BY MICHAEL ANDOR
BRODEUR

November finds the days getting ever shorter and the streaming calendars growing ever tighter as more and more musicians and organizations compete for the clicks and screen time of quarantined listeners.

Here's a selection of streams, series and on-demand concerts arriving online through November. Among them, a rising star starts her digital residency at the Library of Congress, two bel canto superstars sing from Switzerland, and a whole bunch of feathered hats and poofy pants need new homes.

Jennifer Koh

If you haven't already scrolled into installments of her "Alone Together" series of commissions posted through the pandemic, now is a perfect time to point an ear and your browser to violinist Jennifer Koh, who kicks off her digital residency at the Library of Congress on Nov. 19 along with pianist Thomas Sauer, performing a pair of new commissions from the Library's McKim Fund — Julia Wolfe's "Mink Stole" and George Lewis's "The Mangle of Practice" — as well as selections from "Alone Together."

But you can also catch her a couple weeks prior on Friday as part of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra's reliably strong series of digital concerts, performing Florence Price's "Five Folksongs in Counterpoint" alongside the world premiere of multi-instrumentalist and composer Tyshawyn Sorey's "For Marcos Balter for Violin and Orchestra." Visit jenniferkoh.com for links to all performances.

Metropolitan Opera

Regretfully for bel canto buffs, Pretty Yende and Javier Camarena had to postpone their Nov. 7 appearance as part of the Metropolitan Opera's Met Stars Live series. But Sonya Yoncheva's performance with pianist Malcolm Martineau will proceed as planned from the Schussenried Cloister outside of Munich on Nov. 21 at 1 p.m.

And for those still camped out in the free seats of the company's nightly Live in HD streams, November is rich with ways to fill the shortening nights, including a two-for of Tchaikovsky's "Iolanta" (with Anna Netrebko) and Bar-



CHRISTINA WALKER

Violinist Jennifer Koh will have a digital residency at the Library of Congress.

tók's "Bluebeard's Castle" on Monday; the 2008 production of Strauss's "Salome" on Tuesday; Berg's "Lulu" on Thursday — just about five years after Marlis Petersen took the stage in William Kentridge's eye-popping production; the blockbuster 2019 staging of Philip Glass's "Akhnaten" with Anthony Ross Costanzo, J'Nai Bridges and Dísella Lárusdóttir on Nov. 14; and another chance to see Thomas Ades's entrancing/upsetting "The Exterminating Angel" on Nov. 15. Visit metopera.org for tickets (\$20 for Met Stars Live) and streams.

"Music That Suspends Time"

The National Philharmonic continues its virtual season of free Sunday afternoon streaming concerts on Nov. 8 with a perhaps-too-timely program of "Music That Suspends Time." The quintet of violinists Laura Colgate and Regino Madrid, violist Julius Wirth, cellist Kerry Van Laanen, and pianist Elizabeth Hill take on a clock-melting, century-hopping program of Bach, von Bingen, Bologna (Chevalier de Saint-Georges), Piazzolla and, to pick you up after Albinoni's iconic tear-jerking Adagio in G Minor, an achingly pretty pairing of Judith Lang Zaimont's "Serenade" for solo piano and Arvo



MARCO BORGGREVE

Pärt's mantric "Summa" — which Pärt composed as a liturgical work for four voices before scoring various other arrangements. (Including recorder quartet. Maybe next time.) Stream begins at 2 p.m. Visit nationalphilharmonic.org for schedule and streams.

Ohlsson & Gerstein

Also on the afternoon of Nov. 8, Baltimore's Shriver Hall contin-



DARIO ACOSTA

Pianists Kirill Gerstein, left, and Garrick Ohlsson will team up for a recital of works by Rachmaninoff, Ferruccio Busoni, Bach and Ravel, presented by Baltimore's Shriver Hall.

ues its streaming concert series with the broadcast premiere of a powerhouse two-piano recital from Garrick Ohlsson and Kirill Gerstein, playing Rachmaninoff's stormy "Symphonic Dances" (Op. 45), Ferruccio Busoni's 1910 homage to Bach ("Fantasia contrapuntistica"), and Ravel's 1920 "choreographic poem," "La Valse" (described by the composer as an "apotheosis of the Viennese

waltz"). Tickets required; stream begins at 5:30 p.m. Visit shriverconcerts.org for tickets (\$15) and on-demand access.

92nd St. Y

Keep an eye on New York's 92nd St. Y, which in lieu of live gatherings is presenting a packed calendar of online artist workshops, classes, readings and per-

SEE MUSIC ON 7

Music



YOON S. BYUN

The Boston-based, conductor-less orchestra A Far Cry, will perform “The Shape of Joy,” which pairs two affirming duos with a buoyant string quintet by Mozart.



DAVID W. FINLAYSON

Anthony McGill, principal clarinet for the New York Philharmonic, will play with the group's string quartet for a recital presented by 92nd St. Y.

MUSIC FROM 6

formances. Among November's classical offerings are a performance from the Emerson String Quartet with pianist Yefim Bronfman, Schumann and Brahms (Nov. 19); a virtual tenorfest in the form of a discussion hosted by Naomi Lewin with Miles Mykkanen, Andrew Stenson and Levy Sekgapane (Monday); and a recital

joining New York Philharmonic principal clarinet Anthony McGill with the NYPhil String Quartet for a spirited pairing of Mendelssohn's String Quartet in D Major (Op. 44, No. 1) and Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's enthralling Clarinet Quintet in F-sharp Minor (Op. 10) (Nov. 12). (And for you multitaskers, there's even a class on reading music on Nov. 18.) Tickets required. Visit

92y.org/events for a full calendar, tickets (prices vary) and streams.

Beethoven the Contemporary

Speaking of Beethoven, as we edge up on the composer's proper 250th, bookmark “Beethoven the Contemporary,” an online festival hosted by NYU's Steinhardt School, co-curated by pianist/professors Eteri Z. Andjaparidze and Marilyn Nonken, and designed to celebrate the music of Ludwig van Beethoven in a fresh, contemporary light. The free, month-long series of master classes, discussions and performances will run online from Wednesday through Dec. 18, and include a talk with Peter Takács about his recording of the complete cycle of piano sonatas (Nov. 13), four in-depth sessions with Beethoven scholar John Wilson live from Vienna, and Nonken and Jeffrey Swann performing the “Concord” and “Hammerklavier” sonatas (Dec. 8). Visit steinhardt.nyu.edu for a full calendar and streams.

A Far Cry

The intrepid, devoutly democratic Boston-based conductor-less orchestra A Far Cry is one performance into its 14th (and first entirely virtual) season, and the launch of its Frequent Crier Program for online regulars suggests they're meeting the trials of the moment with characteristi-

cally high spirits. This goes double for the ensemble's Nov. 21 offering, “The Shape of Joy,” which pairs two affirming duos by Akshaya Avril Tucker (“Breathing Sunlight”) and Caroline Shaw (“Limestone & Felt”) with Mozart's buoyant early String Quintet No. 1 in B-flat major (K. 174). Visit afarcry.org for more information.

San Francisco Opera

And last, it's never too early to start thinking about next year's Halloween costume — especially when San Francisco Opera is about to throw another one of its famous costume shop sales. With just a click you can own one (or a dozen) of over 500 handmade adult costumes (and 40 for children) from past productions of shows including “The Merry Widow” and “Tannhäuser,” as well as select items from “Dolores Claiborne” and “Don Giovanni.”

That's a lot of feathers, a lot of look and a lot of help for SF Opera's young artist development and educational programs. Pieces will go for between \$75 and \$1,000, and the sale runs online from Nov. 13 at 3 p.m. Eastern time until 11:59 p.m. on Nov. 15. One serious front porch production of “Die Fledermaus,” coming up. Visit sfopera.com/costume-sale for more information.

michael.brodeur@washpost.com

TOP PRICES PAID

for your Records and CD's (33, 45 and 12" singles)

NO COLLECTION TOO SMALL or LARGE WE BUY EVERYTHING!

Call STEVE at 301-646-5403 or e-mail: stevebuysrecords@gmail.com



The Birchmere

3701 Mount Vernon Ave. Alexandria, VA • 703-549-7500

For entire schedule go to Birchmere.com Find us on Facebook/Twitter [f](https://www.facebook.com/Birchmere) [t](https://twitter.com/Birchmere) Tix@Ticketmaster.com

We're back & so is Live Music!

11/6 **KASHMIR**
The Live Led Zeppelin Show

11/7 **ROBERT GLASPER**

11/8 **ROMEO DELIGHT**
The Ultimate Van Halen Tribute Band
“In Honor of Eddie”

11/13 & 14 **PAULA POUNDSTONE**

11/15 **ALEX BUGNON**

11/18 & 19 **TAB BENOIT**

11/20 **BOBBY THOMPSON & Friends**
50th Birthday Celebration

11/21 **BRANDON “TAZ” NIEDERAUER**

11/22 **AL GREEN TRIBUTE**
“Love & Happiness” feat. Jerome Mackall
w/ The Unit Band & the NWO Horns

11/25 **BE’LA DONA**

11/27 **THE SELDOM SCENE & DRY BRANCH FIRE SQUAD**

11/28 **CHARLES ESTEN**

12/3 **WILL ANDERSON**
(of Parachute)

12/4 **A Tribute to the Music of THE O’JAYS** featuring **FOREVER YOURS**

12/5 **HIP HUGGERS**
feat. Junie Henderson & Sugar Bear

12/6 & 7 **HERMAN’S HERMITS**
starring **PETER NOONE**

12/8 **JORMA KAUKONEN**

12/10 **GARY HOEY**
“Ho Ho Hoey’s Rockin’ Holiday Tour”

12/11 **Ms. LISA FISCHER & GRAND BATON**

12/12 **JUNIOR BROWN**

12/13 **WYNONNA JUDD**

12/15 & 16 **KT TUNSTALL**



Retropolis
The past, rediscovered
wpost.com/retropolis

S0364 1x1

My D.C. Dream Day



A taste of D.C. from a food tour guide

In D.C. Dream Day, we ask our favorite people in the area to tell us how they would spend a perfect day in the District.

When **Stefan Woehlke** and Mary Collins launched the food tour company Carpe DC in 2014, the husband-and-wife pair veered from the well-worn path of national monuments and federal institutions and instead guided their enterprise in a decidedly local direction.

“D.C. has such a weird tourism market in the sense that people coming to the city are, for the most part, coming to learn this national mythology,” says Woehlke, 36, who co-founded the company while getting a PhD in archaeology at the University of Maryland. “There’s really no other city you go to visit expecting to learn nothing about the city you’re visiting.”

Carpe DC quickly gained a following thanks to its signature tours of Georgetown and U Street, all while building tightknit relationships with local businesses and donating a portion of its ticket sales to D.C.-

based nonprofit Bread for the City. As the business expanded to include tours of Old Town Alexandria and Fells Point in Baltimore, Woehlke and Collins realized they had outgrown the Carpe DC moniker and, earlier this year, rebranded it as Blue Fern Travel.

After the coronavirus pandemic put tours on hold this past spring, the company pivoted to virtual experiences with local chefs and started a service called Black Box DC, in which customers can buy a curated collection of items from Black-owned businesses. (All of the profits go to the social justice initiative Campaign Zero.) In recent months, Blue Fern Travel also has reimagined its walking tours as socially distanced endeavors.

It should come as no surprise that Woehlke embarks on an urban hike on his perfect day, as he’s joined by his wife, 4-year-old daughter and 1-year-old son for the ultimate D.C. tour.

— as told to Thomas Floyd

My daughter loves doughnuts, so we’d probably start off our morning at **District Doughnut** in Cady’s Alley in Georgetown. I’d personally get a brown butter doughnut and a cup of coffee — they serve Compass Coffee — and we’d take our doughnuts on the road and walk along the canal. If there are any ducks, my son would quack at them as we munched on our breakfast and meandered down toward the Georgetown waterfront. We’d just sit and take in the peaceful surroundings, looking over at what today is called Theodore Roosevelt Island but used to go by a number of different names, including Analostan Island, where the Nacotchtank Indian village was established in the 17th century.

Then we’d meander up to **Rock Creek Park**, looking for whatever wildlife we can spot — we’d probably have our binoculars with us because my daughter loves to do as much birdwatching as a 4-year-old can handle. Then we’d make our way toward Adams Morgan, stop in **Songbyrd Record Café** and get a cup of coffee by Southeastern Roastery there. After that, we’d head over to the playground in **Kalorama Park** while we wait for **Zenebech** to open on 18th Street. We’d go there for a veggie platter, maybe some beef tibs, and have an Ethiopian brunch.

We’d continue over to **Malcolm X Park** [officially called Meridian Hill Park], head down toward U Street and go over to **Ben’s Next Door** and catch up with Welton E. Logan, the manager there, while my wife and I enjoy a pint of DC Brau. After we got our drink on, we’d continue along U Street toward Florida Avenue, enjoying some of the murals and stopping by the **African American Civil War Memorial** before heading over to Seventh Street to grab a drink from Sunyatta Amen, who is the owner of **Calabash Tea & Tonic**.

Next, we’d continue to follow Florida Avenue toward Union Market, stop in at the **Peruvian Brothers** at La Cosecha and get some empanadas. We’d top them off with some of their spicy rocoto pepper sauce, which I recommend everybody try because it’s really a D.C. treasure. Then we’d continue down Florida Avenue, past Gallaudet University, down toward H Street. We’d stop at **Sospeso**, which is a cafe and wine bar, and my wife and I would enjoy a bottle of wine while the kids had some juicy mocktail that the owner, Michael Rosato, put together for them.

After that, we’d head down Benning Road, toward the Anacostia River, and follow trails through the park until we cut across Anacostia and head over to **Everlasting Life Café** to get some takeout. We’d take our food up Cedar Hill to **Frederick Douglass’s home** and have a picnic in the yard. That’s the most amazing place to catch a view of the city, so we’d enjoy the sunset overlooking all of the places we had walked through that day.

At that point, the kids would probably be pretty exhausted. So we’d head back toward our home in Hyattsville and have our neighbor come babysit. The wife and I would then sneak out to **Town Center Market** in Riverdale and sit out on the patio and have some of the many delicious and often unique brews that they have on tap to wrap up the night.

thomas.floyd@washpost.com



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

On his dream day, Stefan Woehlke would pick up dinner and head to the Cedar Hill home of Frederick Douglass in Southeast Washington, where he and his family would have a picnic on the lawn while enjoying the sunset.



ASTRID RIECKEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST

Woehlke says he would visit the African American Civil War Memorial off U Street NW, then head to Calabash Tea & Tonic for a beverage.

All set for alfresco dining in D.C.-area

Restaurants set up spaces
that are warm for patrons

BY FRITZ HAHN
AND ADELE CHAPIN

Let's be frank: November is not the most wonderful time of the year. It's dark before you "leave" your home office, and wind chills require you to bundle up before heading outside. On a cold Tuesday or Thursday night, deciding to cozy up on the couch with a streaming movie and a bottle of wine seems like a much better idea than going out for dinner and drinks.

This is the nightmare scenario facing local restaurants and bars. Since the beginning of the pandemic, experts have agreed that dining outdoors is much safer than dining indoors, thanks to increased ventilation and socially distanced tables. After being cooped up for months, the ability to spend humid summer evenings in beer gardens and on sidewalk patios was a welcome escape. But being outside, wearing a heavy coat while eating dinner — that's a different proposition entirely.

Some bars and restaurants have already announced they'll be closing for the winter, figuring it's cheaper to go dark for a couple of months than to try to fill their patios: So long to Room 11 and several bars owned by Eric and Ian Hilton, including Marvin, the Gibson and the Brixton, which closed on Halloween; Bloomingdale's Boundary Stone will join them on Nov. 25. Others, though, are making necessary changes that they believe will allow them to stay open until spring.

Paul Holder, one of the partners in the Salt Line near Nationals Park, says that, "ordinarily, we'd contract into our indoor space" at this time of year, with a couple of fire pits outdoors for brave or foolhardy guests. But even now, he says, 90 percent of guests still ask to sit outside. So the Salt Line stocked up on heaters and fire pits, erecting tents to keep chilly winds from blowing off the Anacostia River, and rethinking the menu: "It didn't make sense" to keep a lobster platter on the menu, Holder says, "because it was going to get cold really quickly" once it was delivered to guests outdoors.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Christa Machado,
manager at Belga Cafe,
sets a table in one of the
two "greenhouses"
outside the Capitol Hill
restaurant.

SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

THE WASHINGTON POST • FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 2020



From the Cover

More restaurants are winterizing the their curbside “streeteries”: Paul Carlson, the owner of the Royal and Lulu’s Winegar- den, says there’s a balance. “Fighting the wind is a big thing,” he says. “Temperature drops are temperature drops. People can dress accordingly for that. But wind makes it feel so cold.” He’s surrounding the sidewalk tables with low walls and protective plastic, in addition to the shelter provided by roofs, but at the same time, “once we completely enclose the tables, that defeats the purpose of being outside to fight the coronavirus.”

As nights get colder, more people could decide that maybe they’re actually okay with dining indoors than they thought, which, theoretically, could lead to more transmis- sion. (Some restaurants, anecdotally, say they’re already seeing a willingness to do so.) But even at an “outside” bar, your comfort level might vary. Ambar on Capitol Hill, for instance, can’t open the windows of its up- stairs patio but keeps the roof open. Lena’s Oasis in Alexandria keeps all four walls of its tent down, making it similar to being in- doors, while large fans circulate the air.

Carlson suggests that customers might wind up adapting their habits to daylight saving time: “Going out is going to be more of a daytime activity than a nighttime activi- ty,” he predicts. “Our level of business during the day has been very good,” as opposed to after-dark drinks. But who knows: “Every day, we’re coming up with new ideas.”

To see how restaurants and bars are approaching the winter, we reached out to some of our favorite outdoor dining destina- tions. This obviously isn’t a comprehensive list: Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) has an- nounced that hundreds of businesses in Washington will receive grants to help win- terize their patios. But it’s a window into how creative restaurants can be to survive.

Ambar

Restaurateur Ivan Iricanin finds D.C. winters to be mild, especially compared with his native Serbia, where he also op- erates restaurants. “D.C., we don’t have that much snow. It’s not even cold,” he says. That’s why his plan is to keep the retractable roof open as much as possible on clear days at his Capitol Hill restaurant’s pink-hued Garden Room, so diners who want to be in the open air will see a glimpse of the sky between wooden beams and greenery. Radi- ant heating keeps the room warm when the roof is open and temperatures drop (the third-floor dining room’s fireproof windows aren’t operable). The rooftop is part of a multimillion dollar renovation to Ambar unveiled in June, and the Balkan restau- rant’s popular small plates deal carries over into the new space with such dishes as flatbreads or pork belly-stuffed cabbage. *523 Eighth St SE. ambarrestaurant.com.* — A.C.

Belga Cafe

Barracks Row has its fair share of outdoor dining, from the fenced, tented tables out- side Rose’s Luxury to the plastic snow globes at Ted’s Bulletin. But none of the seating options make passersby stop and pull out their smartphones like the pair of green- houses in front of Belga Cafe. Each is eclecti- cally decorated: colorful carpets, mis- matched chairs topped by fuzzy pillows, an array of candles and a funky lampshade. Each contains one table for a maximum of four people, making it perfect for a date or

dinner with your pod. The greenhouses are heated, and one panel of each roof is open to improve air circulation. (It can be closed in case of bad weather.) Belga offers a standard tented, heated patio, but in-the-know cus- tomers can call the restaurant directly to ask about booking the greenhouses. Chef and owner Bart Vandaele says that they’ve been especially popular at brunch, but not to worry: Three more of the custom-built structures are coming. “We have them in- house,” Vandaele says. “We just have to build them. It’s going to be like a little village.” *514 Eighth St. SE. belgacafe.com.* — F.H.

Doi Moi

The new covered patio decorated with hanging plants and a tropical palette at Doi Moi is beautiful on sunny days, and equally inviting in a storm. “People seem to really dig the acoustics of the rain pelting this corrugated plastic roof,” says Desmond Reilly, one of three managing principals of Star Restaurant Group. The Logan Circle restaurant unveiled its renovation along with a revamped, Vietnamese-inspired menu in August, with such entrees as steamed shellfish infused with lemongrass and an entire section devoted to banh mi. Seating on the 10-seat patio is first come, first served, and Reilly plans to wrap the space and add baseboard heaters this month, with five propane heaters already installed near sidewalk tables. *1800 14th St. NW. doimoidc.com.* — A.C.

El Rey and Victura Park

Eric and Ian Hilton’s September an- nouncement that they’d be closing seven of their restaurants and bars “for the foresee- able future” shook D.C.’s hospitality indus- try. After an outpouring of support, the Hiltons relented and announced that the U Street taqueria and margarita garden El Rey would remain open. (Its large outdoor courtyard, topped by a retractable roof, makes it easier for El Rey to stay in business than sister bars, which have small rooftops or patios.) Ian Hilton describes El Rey’s operations as “a week-to-week situation.” He says the roof will be open “more often than not,” and that El Rey will take over operations of the existing streetery at the Brixton, located a few doors down, to pro- vide even more outdoor dining capacity. But that’s not the only plan the Hiltons have for the winter: Ian says they’re turning Victura Park, the beer and wine garden at the Kennedy Center’s Reach expansion, into a holiday market, tentatively set to start Black Friday and run into December. Open Friday through Sunday, Hilton says the market will have 10 to 12 rotating vendors, as well as fire pits, hot drinks, and a seating area with long tables. *El Rey: 919 U St. NW. elreydc.com. Victura Park: 2700 F St. NW. victuraparkdc.com.* — F.H.

El Techo

From the street, El Techo’s roof panels almost look like the wings of a bird: 12 roof bays flip up from horizontal to vertical with the flip of a switch. “The space is kind of like a convertible car would be. We can really make it adapt to whatever the occasion or temperatures are,” says owner Louie Han- kins of his rooftop venue in Shaw. Depend- ing on the weather, El Techo can be com- pletely open or totally enclosed, and sliding



WAREDACA BREWING COMPANY



FRITZ HAHN/THE WASHINGTON POST



VIOLETTA MARKELOU/EL TECHO

glass wall panels can also open and shut for air flow. Dangling wisteria and basket lan- terns are one constant in the dining room, designed to be reminiscent of Tulum. El Techo serves up spicy mezcal margaritas and fried avocado tacos, with new fall drinks added to the roster such as a cinnam- on Old Fashioned and hot chocolate spiked with tequila or mezcal. Reservations are suggested for the 90-minute rooftop dining slots — particularly since a recent TikTok filmed on the rooftop racked up nearly 50,000 likes and inspired Saturday night sellouts for three weeks in advance. Right now, El Techo is outfitted with elec- tric heaters, but Hankins is planning on installing an HVAC system for the roof deck featuring air-disinfecting UV light. *606 Florida Ave. NW. eltechohc.com.* — A.C.

Electric Cool-Aid

Electric Cool-Aid was a bright spot in this unusual summer: a colorful, welcoming place to sit at umbrella-shaded picnic tables and enjoy frozen drinks in Shaw. Co-founder Angela DelBrocco says that when she and her two partners original launched plans for the lot at Sixth Street and Rhode Island Avenue NW, “We envisioned closing in cold months. If there had been no covid, we would have stayed open through the inauguration, and then closed up until it was sustainably warm. But now that people can’t drink in- doors, there’s no better alternative to us.” Electric Cool-Aid erected a large wedding- style tent over rows of picnic tables, with strategically placed heaters — which look like glowing orange sci-fi ray guns — aimed at table height. (DelBrocco, who worked at and ran bars in Chicago before moving to the District, says she learned that this is an effective way to keep bodies warm.) Over the next few months, DelBrocco says the goal is to be “as flexible as possible.” They’re adding more spiked cider and hot toddies after the drinks proved more popular than expected over Halloween weekend; discussed adding cabanas; and are planning to decorate for the holidays, in the spirit of the pop-up bar that once drew crowds a few blocks away, though within reason: “We know the power of Insta- gramable fun,” DelBrocco says, “but we can’t have a sleigh” for people to pose in. “We’re not going to sanitize that.” *512 Rhode Island Ave. NW. electriccool-aid.com.* — F.H.

Espita

The Oaxacan restaurant and mezcal bar invested in a side patio in 2016, spending between \$50,000 to \$70,000 over the years to trick it out with such features as a rain-shielding metal roof and built-in heat- ers. It’s paid off this year. “Most nights, we have one- to two-hour waits,” says Espita partner Kelly Phillips. “Fridays and Satur- days, I’ve quoted people three hours, four hours for a table.” Luckily, reservations are available online for the covered patio,

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP:
Waredaca Brewing in Laytonsville, Md., has rentable “yurts” that can accommodate up to eight people; the rooftop at El Techo can be completely open or totally enclosed; the Salt Line currently has six tables with fire pits in the center as well as 32 tall propane heaters.

where you can sit and order barbacoa tacos — or Philly cheesesteaks and tomatillo-rel- ish-topped burgers from Espita’s new ghost kitchen venture, Ghostburger. In addition to electric wall heaters, Espita is currently installing patio propane heaters, too. *1250 Ninth St. NW. espitadc.com.* — A.C.

Le Diplomate

Stepping inside 14th Street’s Le Diplo- mate always felt as if you were walking into a bistro in the Marais, but a new section of street seating adds to the illusion. “You really feel even more like you’re in Paris,” says Eva Torres, the director of restaurants for Starr Restaurants in D.C. To ward off the chill, Torres brought in propane heaters in the outdoor parklet seating area and Le Diplo- mate-branded blankets for guests to use while sitting outside, either to borrow or to purchase. Le Terrace, the restaurant’s per- manent covered patio equipped with electric heaters, is a warm outdoor spot to shelter from the rain. Le Diplomate can’t guarantee availability for the 40-seat Le Terrace, but hosts try to accommodate guests’ reserva- tions as much as possible, says Torres. *1601 14th St. NW. lediplomatedc.com.* — A.C.

Lena’s Oasis

One of the most stunning transforma- tions in response to the pandemic has been at Lena’s Wood-Fired Pizza in Del Ray, where the roof of a parking garage, which once held 25 spaces for customers, has become Lena’s Oasis, a tropical escape with brightly tiled tables, potted palms and gauzy fabric divid- ers between socially distanced seating areas. The tent is fully enclosed, which means it isn’t technically outdoor dining, but it pro- vides around 100 seats, whereas Lena’s beer garden can hold about 10 tables because of spacing. Donna Shore, a representative of Lena’s, says that airflow shouldn’t be an issue because the Oasis “doesn’t use recycled air. Fresh air is constantly pulled from out- side,” and heated to maintain the tempera- ture. (For those who are still not completely comfortable with the idea of dining “in- doors,” there is an outdoor terrace that uses more traditional heaters, and is still an attractive spot to dine.) Lena’s Oasis has a slightly different menu than the well-known pizza restaurant and beer garden, with beachy cocktails suited for a staycation. *401 E. Braddock Rd., Alexandria. lenasoa- sis.com.* — F.H.

Nina May

The team at Shaw farm-to-table restau- rant Nina May aims to give diners options this winter: Besides the indoor dining room, there’s a heated upstairs space with a roof and sides that can open and close, along with a tented patio. “In case of bad rain, we try to close all of the sides and keep one side open for air circulation,” co-owner Danilo Simic says of the patio tent. “We’ve got our heaters next to each of the tables so people feel as comfortable as possible.” It must be working, because on a recent cold and rainy day, 60 people still wanted to dine al fresco, Simic says. Nina May is transforming the ground- level tented patio into a more permanent structure, building a 25-seat glassy pergola equipped with heaters and a retractable roof and retractable sides. The hope is to debut that new outdoor space in early 2021. *1337 11th St. NW. ninamaydc.com.* — A.C.

The Royal

Open daily at 10 a.m., the Royal has always offered a little something for every- one, from avocado, egg and cheese sand- wiches through happy hour cocktails and glasses of wine. Owner Paul Carlson has noticed that, in recent months, customers push their visits earlier: More breakfast orders, more people drinking coffee and “working from home” at the sunny little streetery. Because the Royal sits on the corner of Florida Avenue and Fifth Street NW, it’s lucky enough to have two outdoor dining areas. The one along Fifth, which was updated last week, separates tables with planters filled with greenery, and while lattice walls cut down the wind while allowing air to circulate. Carlson is trying to get creative — he’s thinking about using reptile heat lamps over tables to keep dishes warmer longer — but there are limits: “None of the things we can do are perman- ent, so they can’t be a massive investment of time and money.” One visit, and you’ll think they’re doing pretty well. *501 Florida Ave. NW. theroyaldc.com.* — F.H.

The Salt Line

For most of the year, the Salt Line’s prime position on the Anacostia River is its selling point — except in cold weather, when sharp winds come whipping in off the water. Normally, this isn’t a problem: Most of the Salt Line’s business moves inside, beginning in the fall. Not this year. Paul Holder, one of the partners in the seafood restaurant, says they began stock- ing up on heaters in the summer and currently have six tables with fire pits in the center as well as 32 tall propane heaters, which are arranged between ta- bles to serve as social distance markers as well as heat sources. The long row of tables along the water is shielded from the river by the wall of a tent. “It’s protection from the wind, and to encapsulate the heat,” Holder says. The Salt Line decided to roll up the other three walls of the tent because “we wanted fresh air. We didn’t want to create just an extension of indoor dining outside.” It’s a comfortable and elegant solution, best enjoyed with a toddy or glass of mulled rose in hand. *79 Potomac Ave. SE. thesaltline.com.* — F.H.

Waredaca Brewing

The appeal of going to a farm brewery is sitting outside and drinking beer in nature — unless you’re at Waredaca Brewing, that is, where the most coveted tables are rentable “yurts.” These canvas tents, creat- ed with the help of a local company called Epic Glamping, are heated, fall-themed spaces with picnic tables and hay bales undercover. “They remind us of the plat- form tents from the old days of Camp Waredaca overnight summer camp,” ex- plains Waredaca’s Jessica Snider. The yurts, rented in two-hour time blocks, can accommodate up to eight people, and the brewery offers extras, such as tasting flights, and groups can bring their own food. Reservations for the six yurts cur- rently run through December; Snider says no decisions have been made about wheth- er they’ll be open beyond that. *4017 Damas- cus Rd., Laytonsville. orderwareda- ca.com. Yurts \$45-\$60 depending on day and time of reservation.* — F.H.

fritz.hahn@washpost.com



DANIEL MARTÍNEZ

GALA unleashes an indoor production

BY THOMAS FLOYD

Amid all the doubt that has enveloped the theater community in recent months, it was with a sense of certainty that GALA Hispanic Theatre — closed since March because of the pandemic — decided on its comeback production: the 17th-century comedy “El Perro del Hortelano.”

As GALA penciled in its coronavirus-altered 2020-21 season, with ambitions of being the first D.C. theater to resume indoor performances, the idea of a sprawling, crowd-pleasing musical was taken off the table because of social-distancing concerns. A heavy drama didn’t feel right, either, considering the grave state of the world.

So GALA’s leadership, led by the husband-and-wife team of producing artistic director Hugo Medrano and executive director Rebecca Read Medrano, landed on Spanish playwright Lope de Vega’s class-conflict laughter, in which a conceited countess falls for her young secretary in a tale of

Performances will resume with theater group’s safety-conscious ‘El Perro del Hortelano’

forbidden love. Last week, GALA raised the curtain on the play — whose title translates to “The Dog in the Manger” — before a limited capacity audience at the Tivoli Theatre in Columbia Heights.

“It’s a play about two people who can’t touch each other,” director José Zayas says. “So it’s a socially distanced romance.”

“Humor is the survival tool that we need in this moment, and in any moment of crisis,” actor Carlos Castillo adds. “And this play has plenty of humor.”

Although most live performance spaces, along with all movie theaters, are still closed, GALA was given the city’s permission to stage in-person performances of “El Perro del Hortelano” because of its participation in a D.C. pilot program allowing the resumption of live entertainment. (Also included in the program: the Kennedy Center, City Winery, Union Stage, Pearl Street Warehouse and the Hamilton.) Although the

pilot initially was scheduled to end Oct. 30, the District last week informed GALA that it was extending the program through mid-December.

To comply with the program’s safety requirements, GALA is limiting ticket sales to 50 audience members per performance in the 274-seat venue. (The cap originally was 25 visitors before the District eased that requirement.) Temperature checks are conducted upon entry, and the space is sanitized before and after every performance. Every patron, staff member and artist must wear a mask, except for the actors when they’re performing. An updated air-filtration system, installed as part of the theater’s summer renovations, allows the venue to meet the pilot’s ventilation requirements.

GALA also communicates frequently with the D.C. Homeland Security and Emergency Management Agency — as well as some

other local theaters — about the production’s progress.

“Really, we’re being their guinea pigs,” Read Medrano says. “I’m happy and I’m delighted that we can hopefully be pioneers and use this as an example for other theaters to start up.”

During its originally planned 2020-21 season, GALA intended to stage “El Perro del Hortelano” with a cast and director visiting from Spain, before travel restrictions quashed that idea. So the theater reached out to Zayas — who was in rehearsals with GALA’s “Tía Julia y el Escribidor” in March before that production was postponed — to helm the play, and recruited a largely local cast. (The performers are not a part of the Actors’ Equity Association, which has its own health and safety guidelines before it will allow its members to return.)

Rehearsals were moved from a basement space at the Tivoli Theatre to the Josephine Butler Parks Center, with its myriad windows to facilitate air circulation. Members of the design team, who

SEE GALA ON 13

If you go

EL PERRO DEL HORTELANO
GALA Hispanic Theatre, 3333 14th St. NW. 202-234-7174.
galatheatre.org.

Dates: Through Nov. 22.

Prices: \$25-\$45.

Ariel Texidó, left, and Soraya Padrao perform in GALA Hispanic Theatre’s production of “El Perro del Hortelano” (“The Dog in the Manger”). The play runs at the 274-seat Tivoli Theatre in Columbia Heights, but only 50 tickets will be sold for each performance to comply with safety requirements.

GALA FROM 12

typically would contribute to the technical rehearsal process in person, communicated their instructions and feedback via Zoom. And the actors, who have been tested for the coronavirus several times, were asked to avoid unnecessary exposures.

"We definitely have limited our social life," Castillo says, "just to be with ourselves."

Clifton Chadick, meanwhile, designed a plexiglass box set in which the actors — who wore masks during rehearsals but will not do so during performances — are barricaded from the audience. Zayas says he conceived the idea while considering additional safety measures, but also saw a thematic resonance to the fish-bowl-esque experience.

"The experience that the audience is going to have is going to be very much like being voyeurs," Zayas says. "It's very intimate because of it. And it's something that I don't think I normally necessarily would have done with this production if it hadn't been because I was thinking about covid. So that necessity



DANIEL MARTÍNEZ

From left, Luz Nicolás, Soraya Padrao, Delbis Cardona, Oscar Ceville and Catherine Nunez in "El Perro del Hortelano." A plexiglass box set will keep the actors barricaded from the audience.

has turned it into an artistic plus."

Following this production, GALA hopes to forge on with a season that also includes a three-day flamenco festival in Decem-

ber and three productions in the first half of 2021, with full casts and crews already set.

"We are trying to be realistic," Hugo Medrano says. "Everything is in order to follow up the total

season. . . . Of course, it is a season that is not as expanded or ambitious. But it is a very possible season."

Although the limited capacity means "El Perro del Hortelano"

and any other upcoming productions won't be profitable, GALA was willing to take that financial hit in exchange for the visibility that comes with returning to the stage. Even during a typical season, only 18 percent of the theater's income is derived from ticket sales, Read Medrano says, with grants providing the bulk of the revenue.

"We're not going to make any money — we're going to lose money," she says. "But we sort of planned for that. I would venture to say that unless we do huge musicals like 'Fame' or 'In the Heights,' we don't live off of our ticket revenue at all."

Like many other arts administrators, Read Medrano is driven by a sense of urgency.

"We feel the longer we wait, the harder it's going to be to bring people back," she says. "Being a smaller theater, if you're not out there, you disappear. It's harder to restart, I think. So we felt even if we do the minimum, even if only 25 people come in, even if we're losing money, the act and the faith of doing live theater is still important."

thomas.floyd@washpost.com

the *GUIDE* to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME	DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
THEATRE					
 EL PERRO DEL HORTELANO The Dog in the Manger	Thru Nov 22 Thurs – Sat at 8 pm Sun at 2 pm	Lope de Vega's smart comedic gem of the Spanish Golden Age explores love, fidelity and class with wry wit.	GALA Theatre 3333 14th Street NW 202-234-7174 www.galatheatre.org	\$25-\$45	In Spanish with English surtitles
MUSIC - CONCERTS					
 John Philip Sousa's Birthday Celebration	Friday, Nov. 6, at 11 a.m.	Today is John Philip Sousa's 166th birthday! Watch live online as the Marine Band honors its 17th Director with a graveside birthday celebration, including a musical tribute and wreath-laying ceremony.	Stream the ceremony live at: youtube.com/usmarineband Full Concert Schedule: www.marineband.marines.mil	Free concerts streamed online weekly!	Follow us on social media! @marineband
 United We Stand Veterans Day A Salute to Veterans	This afternoon! Friday, November 6 at 4PM	United We Stand Music to Connect Us, Fridays at 4 virtual concert series: Music from the last 65 years celebrates servicemembers' sacrifices and the numerous qualities that make an American hero.	Find us on Social Media: Facebook: @usarmyband Twitter: @theusarmyband Instagram: @usarmyband YouTube: @usarmyband	Stay safe. Stay strong. Stand united.	More video and music education content available at usarmyband.com
 United We Stand Super Saxophones Young Artist Competition	Next week: Friday, November 13 at 4PM	United We Stand Music to Connect Us, Fridays at 4 virtual concert series: A musical saxophone showcase of the winners of our 2020 Young Artist Orchestra and National Collegiate Solo Competitions.	Find us on Social Media: Facebook: @usarmyband Twitter: @theusarmyband Instagram: @usarmyband YouTube: @usarmyband	Stay safe. Stay strong. Stand united.	More video and music education content available at usarmyband.com
MUSIC - CHAMBER					
 Eclipse Chamber Orchestra	Saturday, November 7 @ 3:30 and 5 pm	Eclipse presents The Beau Soir Ensemble in an outdoor socially distanced concert in Old Town Alexandria	The Rectory 711 Prince Street Alexandria, VA	\$45	Eclipseco.org 703-683-6040

The Guide to the Lively Arts appears: • Sunday in Arts & Style. deadline: Tues., 12 noon • Monday in Style. deadline: Friday, 12 noon • Tuesday in Style. deadline: Mon., 12 noon • Wednesday in Style. deadline: Tues., 12 noon • Thursday in Style. deadline: Wed., 12 noon • Thursday in Express. deadline: Wed., 12 noon • Friday in Weekend. deadline: Tues., 12 noon • Saturday in Style. deadline: Friday, 12 noon
For information about advertising, call: Raymond Boyer 202-334-4174 or Nicole Giddens 202-334-4351
To reach a representative, call: 202-334-7006 | guidetoarts@washpost.com



PHOTOS BY UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND ART GALLERY/JAMILAH SABUR/NINA JOHNSON, MIAMI

Artist's video show is out of this world

Sabur finds inspiration in Earth, the cosmos and the 'philosophical'

BY MARK JENKINS

Jamilah Sabur keeps her feet planted in the Caribbean basin, while her eyes drift toward the heavens. The Miami-based multidisciplinary artist spent her first five years in Jamaica, a heritage that roots her work. Yet the six videos in her online show contemplate Venus, Mars, Saturn and various moons, including Neptune's Triton. Organized by the University of Maryland Art Gallery, "Observations: Selected Works by Jamilah Sabur" explores Earthly, cosmic and interior landscapes.

The videos, which range in length from two to 12 minutes, were made at such moist, green Florida locations as the north shore of Lake Apopka, one of the generally flat state's highest points. Yet Sabur began making such pieces 10 years ago while living in bone-dry Southern California. (She also has a local connection, having earned a BFA



from Baltimore's Maryland Institute College of Art in 2009.)

"I spent a lot of time in the desert thinking about how a body navigates space in a philosophical sense," she wrote in an email. "I made ephemeral gestures in the land that later transformed into sculptures and sets to perform in."

These movements evolved into stylized performances that employ personal talismans but invoke the wider universe. Sabur always wears a mask or other covering to restrict her sense of sight. This "allows me to be more present in the gesture, fully sinking into a ritual state where I rely on my haptic perception," she

explains, referring to the sense of touch.

The earlier videos are black-and-white and straightforward in cinematic style, seemingly made purely as documentations of performances. In 2011's "Bridge Dance," Sabur crosses, and then covers in fabric, what appears to

SEE OBSERVATIONS ON 15

If you go

OBSERVATIONS: SELECTED WORKS BY JAMILAH SABUR
University of Maryland Art Gallery,
artgallery.umd.edu/exhibition/observations.

Dates: Through Dec. 11.

Admission: Free.

"Bridge Dance," top, and "Playing Possum," left, are two of the six videos in Jamilah Sabur's online show that contemplate space. "I love how the work shows that Earth can be just as foreign as outer space," says Taras W. Matla, associate director for the University of Maryland Art Gallery and the show's curator.

OBSERVATIONS FROM 14

be a wooden board suspended in space. In 2012's "Playing Possum," she flutters around a stiff, unflapping flag that suggests the one U.S. astronauts planted on the moon.

"I love how the work shows that Earth can be just as foreign as outer space," says Taras W. Matla, the gallery's associate director and the show's curator.

The style of the older videos may seem artless but is in fact carefully considered. Sabur was influenced by the austere aesthetic of French director Robert Bresson, who made such classic films as "Pickpocket" in black-and-white. That format, Sabur writes, "really is about the interior space of an individual."

In the later works, the editing is more complex and the ingredients more wide-ranging. "Moon Tendon" (2015) includes open-source NASA footage of a hurricane on Saturn; "Tidal Locking" (2019) inserts a ghostly dancer into a vertically oriented collage of oceanic and planetary imagery. (The latter piece, the most visually sophisticated, would benefit from being seen in a format larger than a home computer screen.)

In the other two videos, Sabur uses a wooden rhombus to frame

"Rhombus: Cradling Mars West of the Sargasso Sea," below, draws inspiration from the latticework above the front door of house of Sabur's mother in Jamaica, while "Tidal Locking," right, inserts a ghostly dancer into a vertically oriented collage of oceanic and planetary imagery.



objects on the ground (a cast full-face mask) or in the sky (the planet Mars). The diamond-shaped form might seem purely geometric, but actually has an autobiographical connection: It's derived from the latticework above the front door of her mother's house in Jamaica. Common in the Caribbean region, such an opening serves as a vent for air and light in tropical climes.

"In my work the shape functions as a threshold space where

the inside and the outside merge. It is a portal and an anchor that allows me to access multiple sites," Sabur notes.

By employing an elemental shape that also has personal meaning, Sabur links the two poles of her art. "I'm always oscillating from the personal to the universal," she writes. At one apogee of the orbit, she's swinging toward her family home; at the other, she's propelled to Mars.

goingoutguide@washpost.com



PHOTOS BY UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND ART GALLERY/JAMILAH SABUR/NINA JOHNSON, MIAMI

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
**VETERANS
HISTORY
PROJECT**



**20TH ANNIVERSARY
CELEBRATION**
with conversations and song

NOV 6 – 14, 2020

**Musical Performances
Panel Discussions
Veterans Collections**



Because their stories are OUR stories

Loc.gov/vets/vhp20 #VHP20

Let Him Go ★★☆☆



PHOTOS BY KIMBERLY FRENCH / FOCUS FEATURES

Lane takes the reins in modern western

Actress is stellar in story of mothers at odds over the fate of a small boy

BY MICHAEL O'SULLIVAN

The faces of Kevin Costner and Diane Lane are given equal prominence on the poster for “Let Him Go” — next to the long barrel of a gun and a house on fire — but it’s Lane who gets top billing, deservedly, in this surprisingly gripping and moving modern western about two mothers, at odds over the fate of a small boy.

Technically there are three maternal characters involved, if you count the little boy’s mom: Kayli Carter plays Lorna, the daughter-in-law of Lane and Costner’s Margaret and George Blackledge, married to their son James (Ryan Bruce) at the start of the film, and the mother of their grandson, Jimmy (Bram and Otto Hornung), around whom the plot of the film revolves. But the young woman is not what you’d call a memorable presence. After her husband is killed in a riding accident, Lorna — mousy, unconfident and sullen, in a way that



TOP: Diane Lane and Kevin Costner star in “Let Him Go,” a gripping film that takes a methodical, unfancy approach.

ABOVE: Lesley Manville plays the psychologically domineering matriarch of a rural clan that has been terrorizing all who come into contact with them for years.

doesn’t evoke much sympathy — enters into an ill-advised second marriage, leaving the comfort of the Blackledges’ North Dakota ranch and running off to a remote corner of the state with an abusive man-child named, appropriately enough, Donnie Weboy (Will Brittain), without so much as a warning, goodbye or forwarding address.

The story’s other formidable mother is Blanche Weboy, Don-

nie’s mother, played by the great Lesley Manville (“Phantom Thread,” “Ordinary Love”) as the psychologically domineering matriarch of a rural clan that has been terrorizing all who come into contact with them for years.

But this is Lane’s movie, hands down, and the actress is never less than magnetic — an alloy of iron will and steel spirit — as she determines, after witnessing Donnie strike Lorna in public

shortly after the marriage, to track them down to the Weboy homestead, where Donnie, Lorna and Jimmy have been drawn by Blanche’s gravitational pull. George, a taciturn retired sheriff, agrees to come along for the ride, ostensibly so that Margaret can say goodbye to Jimmy. (The title “Let Him Go” can be read in multiple ways, depending on to whom the phrase is intended — Blanche, or perhaps even Margaret — and the meaning of “him.” As the story plays out, it becomes clear that there’s been no closure to Margaret’s loss of her son James, let alone her grandson Jimmy.)

Based on Larry Watson’s 2013 novel, set in the 1950s, “Let Him Go” is not a revenge/rescue movie per se, although it certainly sounds like one, and it does bear more than a few narrative similarities to the genre. There are flashes of violence, at one point quite gruesomely so, and George will eventually see his very particular set of skills as a former lawman come in handy. The first showdown between the Blackledges and the Weboys, over plates of Blanche’s pork chops, is charged with dialogue that drips with menace and condescension

— congealed by the counterpoint of Margaret’s icy resolve. It’s an acting showcase for both Lane and Manville.

But the film’s most satisfying developments take place at the edges of the main story, and concern Margaret’s relationships: her marriage to George — there’s a hint of a history of alcohol abuse in his past; her new friendship with a young Native American man (Booboo Stewart) the Blackledges run into on the plains, and whose aid Margaret will require; and, finally, Margaret’s coming to terms with James’s death, and her willingness to repair the relationship with Lorna.

Writer-director Thomas Bezucha (“The Family Stone”) adopts a form of storytelling — methodical, unfancy, yet always sure-footed — that seems appropriate to its no-nonsense protagonists. With Margaret as the stolid mama bear of the story, “Let Him Go” takes on a greater heft than its more thriller-ish contours seem built to handle, but Lane carries the additional weight with aplomb.

michael.osullivan@washpost.com

R. At area theaters. Contains violence. 113 minutes.

City Hall ★★★★★

An engaging lesson in Boston civics

Documentarian's film takes an engrossing look at city's inner workings

BY ANN HORNADAY

Can we stipulate that we're burned out on politics?

Have we ingested every campaign-season documentary made this year defending or decrying the Trump administration? Have we been suitably tutored on the coronavirus pandemic, voter suppression, gerrymandering and America's descent into tribalism? May it be agreed and so ordered that we are burned out, fed up, oversubscribed and deeply in need of a balm to our psyches?

Frederick Wiseman is here to help. For a stunning half century, the documentary filmmaker has created a genre unto himself: candid, cinema-verite deep dives into the institutions that condition our lives but rarely invite outsiders in. In 1967, Wiseman made his astonishing debut with "Titicut Follies," a chronicle of sadistic practices within a Massachusetts prison psychiatric facility that was so wrenching it was banned by state authorities. Since then, Wiseman has created similarly detailed portraits of schools, hospitals, housing projects and state legislatures — as well as the odd ballet company or boxing gym — always to the same entrancing effect.

With "City Hall," Wiseman brings his quiet observational skills to the day-to-day operations of local government, which is why the film is so well-timed for this particular moment. After a particularly bruising period of campaign hyperbole and cutthroat competition, "City Hall" reminds us of what it's all been about: the difficult, demanding, damnably imperfect work of governing.

Starting with the voices of operators at a 311 call center, "City Hall" plunges viewers into the quotidian life of Boston's titular institution — here being run by two-term mayor Marty Walsh. In 3- to 4-minute segments, the film visits strategy meetings and speeches, a wedding here and a pest-control call there; we eavesdrop on law enforcement briefings and a fire inspection and watch, mesmerized, as a trash compactor takes three twin beds into its lethal, slowly moving maw. The sheets are still on them.



PHOTOS BY ZIPPORAH FILMS/PURITAN FILMS



Boston Mayor Marty Walsh, above, is featured prominently in Frederick Wiseman's 4½-hour documentary, but the film is at its most compelling when it focuses on the citizens and civil servants, such as the engineers, at top, who monitor hundreds of intersections each day to make adjustments to improve traffic flow.

There's surely a story behind that image, having to do with heartbreak, abandoned dreams, dispossession — or, just maybe, a new beginning. True to Wiseman's now-practiced style, devoid of narration, commentary or musical ornamentation, it's left up to the viewer to fill in the speculative blanks. "City Hall's" longest sequence, a Veterans Day celebration during which former soldiers share intimate accounts of their service and its costs, works like a microcosm of the film itself: The vignettes gain power and emotion as they accrue into a moving testament to civic life, even at its most flawed.

That scene also demonstrates the only weakness of "City Hall," which is that it reflexively brings

the focus back to Walsh, just when the audience is most transfixed by the citizens he's serving. This isn't to say that the mayor isn't a compelling figure: Whether he's conducting a meeting about police-community relations, celebrating a Red Sox World Series win or strategizing about an upcoming NAACP convention, he emerges as the kind of sincere, straight-talking guy who redeems the battered notion of a career in public service.

But even at his most self-disclosing, Walsh is outshined by the people of Boston who populate "City Hall" and reflect a rapidly changing city, either as municipal employees or their customers. The great gift of Wiseman's films is how they cut through glib

rhetoric and lazy stereotypes. In "City Hall," the stars are the "impersonal bureaucrats" and "cynical politicians" who have become such convenient tropes within a greater anti-government narrative. Clearly Wiseman has a point of view — all great artists do — and he seeks to rescue that maligned entity known vaguely as Big Government to expose its beating, if imperfect, human heart.

At 4½ hours, "City Hall" is a demanding film. But it rewards that commitment with an experience that is both hypnotically beautiful and subtly encouraging. Wiseman's camera, wielded by cinematographer John Davey, is both penetrating in its specificity and expansive in its compassion. Every now and then, they pull the lens back, taking in silent images of buildings, neighborhoods and public spaces and giving viewers a moment to pause and keep going.

The same sense of contemplation and perseverance propels "City Hall" to its full-circle moment, an affecting testament to the countless anonymous people who undergird the part of a functional democracy that's routinely taken for granted or demonized as the "Deep State." Wiseman delivers an engrossing rebuke to that toxic myth by putting viewers into their own deep state: In this case, one of reflection, admiration and profound gratitude.

ann.hornaday@washpost.com

Ratings guide

Masterpiece
★★★★★

Very good
★★★★☆

Okay
★★★☆☆

Poor
★★☆☆☆

Plus

New movies available online **18**

Common Sense Media **19**

Opening next week

A teen (Kathryn Newton) switches bodies with a serial killer (Vince Vaughn) in **Freaky**.

Wolfwalkers is an animated film from the Irish production studio that made "The Secret of Kells."

A friendship is threatened when one of the men sleeps with the other's fiancée in **The Climb**.

Editor's note: Several movie theaters in Northern Virginia and Maryland have reopened, with policies in place to make moviegoing a safer experience. These policies include: reduced auditorium seating capacity and socially distanced concession checkout; enhanced cleaning protocols and hand-washing by employees; mask requirements (except while guests are eating or drinking in the auditorium). For more information on specific policies that have been implemented — and such perks as contactless concession ordering, via Showplace Icon's Icon Extras app — visit amctheatres.com, cinemark.com, bowtiecinemas.com, angelikafilmcenter.com/mosaic, cinemaartstheatre.com, universitymalltheatres.com and showplaceicon.com. Regal Cinemas recently announced the temporary closure of all its theaters, while the AMC and Cinemark chains plan to remain open for now. Theaters in the District remain closed.

Unrated. Available at afisilver.afi.com and virtualavalon.org. Contains nothing objectionable. 272 minutes.

New movies available online

When the boyfriend (Edward Holcroft) of a pregnant woman named Charlotte (Tamara Lawrance) dies in an accident while staying at the dilapidated Scottish manor home of his widowed mother, Margaret (Fiona Shaw of “Killing Eve”), Charlotte suddenly finds that Margaret has taken an unhealthy interest in the baby she’s carrying. (Meaning that Margaret makes Charlotte her quite literal prisoner, watched over by Margaret’s possibly not-entirely-well-meaning stepson Thomas, played by a sycophantic Jack Lowden). That’s the setup of the British drama “**Kindred**,” a slow-burn psychological horror film that leaves you in doubt, for the longest time, as to whether it’s Margaret who’s sick, or Charlotte, whose mother suffered from perinatal psychosis. This is no “Rosemary’s Baby,” but the fine performances all around — and sharp direction by first-time feature filmmaker Joe Marcantonio — make it highly watchable, all the more so because Charlotte is Black and her seeming tormentors White. This lends the film a theme of creepy colonialism, even slavery, making the otherwise pedestrian plot curdle with unsavory topicality. *Unrated. Available on various streaming platforms. Contains drug use and some bloody, disturbing images and thematic elements. 100 minutes.*

— Michael O’Sullivan

Also streaming

A Jury Prize winner in last year’s Un Certain Regard side competition at the Cannes Film festival, the Spanish film “**Fire Will Come**” tells the story of a convicted arsonist (Amador Arias) who is trying to get back on his feet after his release from prison while living on his family farm with his mother (Benedicta Sánchez). Even though the title telegraphs one of the film’s key



IFC MIDNIGHT

From left, Jack Lowden, Fiona Shaw and Tamara Lawrance star in “Kindred,” a slow-burn psychological horror film about a pregnant woman who is taken in by her deceased boyfriend’s mother.



KIMSTIM FILMS/PYRAMIDE FILMS

Amador Arias and Benedicta Sánchez in “Fire Will Come,” a Spanish film about an arsonist after his release from prison.

plot developments. Variety writes that the “dreamy, mesmeric power” of filmmaker Oliver Laxe’s “rustically beautiful” rural parable lies in the waiting. *Unrated. Available at afisilver.afi.com. In Galician and Spanish with subtitles. 85 minutes.*

Part of the Exhibition on Screen film series “**Frida Kahlo**” is a documentary about the Mexican painter (1907-1954). According to the Guardian, the film “covers the required bases, striking a good balance between Kahlo’s often dramatic personal life and the ins and outs of her artistic



EXHIBITION ON SCREEN/SEVENTH ART PRODUCTIONS

The film “Frida Kahlo” takes a balanced look at the artist.

achievements.” *Unrated. Available at virtualavalon.org. 90 minutes.*

“**Harry Chapin: When in Doubt, Do Something**” paints a documentary portrait of the Grammy-winning singer-songwriter (“Cat’s in the Cradle”), who

died at age 38 in a 1981 car accident after devoting his fortune to ending world hunger and poverty. Released last month in virtual cinemas on World Food Day, the film is “an uplifting tribute to an impressive human being,” according to the Los Angeles Times. *Unrated. Available at afisilver.afi.com, virtualavalon.org and themiracletheatre.com. 93 minutes.*

“**Mother**” is a fact-based Japanese psychological drama about the strange hold that an alternately abusive and neglectful mother (Masami Nagasawa) has on her son Shuhei (Daiken Okudaira). The Japan Times compares filmmaker Tatsushi Ohmori to Alfred Hitchcock, minus the horror: “‘Mother’ is a chilling glimpse into the abyss, as was ‘Psycho,’ but the quiet, passive Shuhei is not as striking a character as Norman Bates. Imagine if the latter’s dear, departed terror of a mom were still alive and kicking. Norman, not to mention the audience, wouldn’t stand a

SEE STREAMING ON 19

Also Opening

In the sequel “**True to the Game 2**,” a violent urban crime thriller set one year after the action of the 2017 film, Gena (Erica Peeples) has put the troubled streets of Philadelphia behind her for New York City, where she has reinvented herself as a journalist. But somehow her sordid past catches up to her. *R. At area theaters. Contains violence, pervasive crude language, sexuality, nudity and drugs. 93 minutes.*

Andra Fuller stars in the sequel “True to the Game 2.”



IMANI MEDIA GROUP

What Washington is watching on DVD

- 1. Friendsgiving
- 2. The Vanished
- 3. Cut Throat City
- 4. The Doorman
- 5. Ava

SOURCE: Redbox, for the week ended Nov. 1

New on DVD

- Antebellum, right
- The Argument
- Blackbird
- Hard Kill
- Misbehaviour



MATT KENNEDY/LIONSGATE



GUNPOWDER & SKY

Pedro Pascal, left, and Sophie Thatcher in “Prospect,” which Slashfilm calls “the best indie science fiction movie since ‘Moon.’”

STREAMING FROM 18

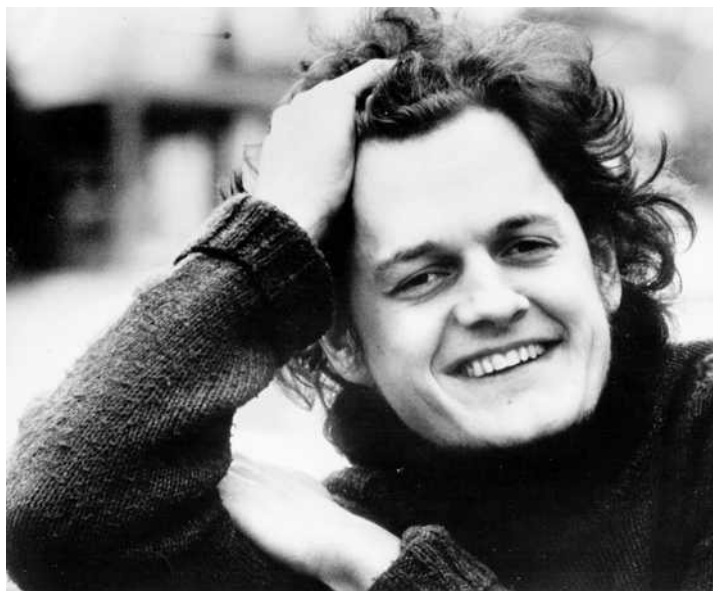
chance.” *TV-14. Available on Netflix. In Japanese with subtitles. 126 minutes.*

Jay Duplass stars in “**Prospect**,” the tale of a space prospector who travels to a distant moon with his daughter (Sophie Thatcher), looking for a mineral that will enable them to put their itinerant lifestyle beyond them. *Slashfilm* calls it “the best indie science fiction movie since ‘Moon.’” *R. Available on Netflix. Contains some violence and bloody images. 99 minutes.*

In the horror film “**Triggered**,” a group of 20-somethings, all harboring the same dark high school secret, gather at a campsite in the woods. After a night of partying, they all wake up with unremovable suicide vests strapped to their chests, with the detonators triggered by countdown clocks of varying times — whose minutes can be transferred from one person to another by killing

them. *Slant* magazine writes: “Unfortunately, every character has been established as such a specific type — the tough guy, the brain, the laid-back rocker, the sarcastic jerk, and so on — that it doesn’t take much mental agility for the viewer to guess how they’ll eventually behave in this violent free-for-all.” *Unrated. Available on various streaming platforms. 90 minutes.*

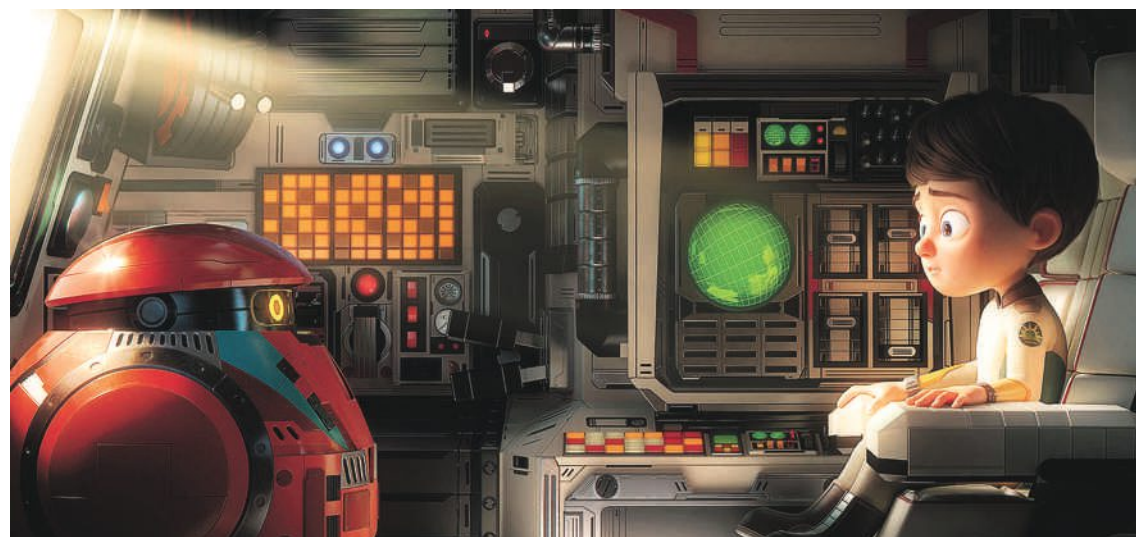
In the documentary “**With Drawn Arms**,” filmmakers Glenn Kaino and Afshin Shahidi look back on the 1968 Olympics, during which gold-medalist sprinter Tommie Smith and his bronze-winning U.S. teammate John Carlos created controversy by raising their fists in protest against civil rights abuses against Black people. The film also looks at a sculptural collaboration between Kaino, a conceptual artist, and Smith, that was shown at Atlanta’s High Museum in 2019 and which lends the film its title. *TV-14. Available on Starz. 84 minutes.*



GREENWICH ENTERTAINMENT

The life of the musician best known for “Cat’s in the Hat” is chronicled in “Harry Chapin: When in Doubt, Do Something.”

Common Sense Media What parents need to know



VIVA PICTURES

The French animated space adventure “Terra Willy” uses the themes of friendship, teamwork and empathy.

PBS Kids Talk About: Race and Racism (UNRATED)

STREAMING

Age 3+

Fabulous special helps young kids confront, discuss racism.

“PBS Kids Talk About: Race and Racism” is a fantastic special that explains race, racism and anti-racism activism in an age-appropriate way. Historical and contemporary racism are discussed, but both are clearly talked about as being wrong. Examples of racism discussed aren’t violent, and the special emphasizes that we should notice and celebrate our differences. (30 minutes)

Available via PBS Kids streaming.



PBS KIDS

“PBS Kids Talk About: Race and Racism” uses examples of racism that aren’t violent.

with Willy forming strong bonds with Buck, an alien pet and some giant alien beetles. There are two instances of potty humor, one with Willy and an alien urinating

and another with a mention of “poop.” There’s some sadness with Willy missing his parents and having to say good bye to a

SEE COMMON ON 20

Terra Willy (PG)

STREAMING

Age 6+

Animated alien adventure has learning, empathy, teamwork.

“Terra Willy” (also known as “Astro Kid”) is a French animated space adventure (dubbed into English) that’s full of positive messages with a bit of mild peril. After his family’s ship is destroyed by asteroids, Willy (voiced by Landen Beattie) crash-lands on an uncharted planet. Despite the fact that he’s separated from his parents, the movie has a reassuring tone, with no significant danger or upsetting situations lingering or hindering the fun. When they crash, Willy’s robot companion, Buck (Jason Anthony), calmly explains the situation, how they’ll survive and how they’ll be found, with Willy constantly learning and adapting to his new environment. Exciting action scenes include regular run-ins with big, dinosaurlike rock monsters. Friendship, teamwork and empathy are key themes,



COMMON FROM 19

friend. But overall this is a joyous adventure that can be enjoyed by the whole family. (89 minutes)
Available on various streaming platforms.

Operation Christmas Drop (TV-G)

STREAMING
Age 8+
Military history, positive messages in gentle romance.

“Operation Christmas Drop” is a gentle holiday romance with positive messages about serving others and providing for those less fortunate. Military families and buffs will appreciate the real-life history behind the service’s humanitarian missions to get donated goods to isolated island communities every Christmas, as well as the portrayal of hard-working, upstanding soldiers who embody the principles of “service over self” and teamwork. The romance at the film’s core involves mild flirtation, compliments, a dance and one eventual kiss. Language is limited to “damn” and a little teasing. The film has timely holiday messages about the joys of giving, gratitude and selflessness. However, although the bulk of the movie takes place in Guam, Pacific Islanders are mostly present as background characters. (96 minutes)
Available on Netflix.

Olivia-Mai Barrett and Jeremy Piven in the dramedy “My Dad’s Christmas Date.”



RICARDO HUBBS/NETFLIX



GRAVITAS VENTURES

Kat Graham and Alexander Ludwig in the romance movie “Operation Christmas Drop.”

My Dad’s Christmas Date (UNRATED)

STREAMING
Age 13+
Sweet but forgettable holiday drama has drinking, language.

“My Dad’s Christmas Date” is a father-daughter dramedy about 16-year-old Rachel (Anna Walton), who decides to create an online dating profile for her widowed father, David (Jeremy Piven), without his knowledge or consent. More a family comedy than a romantic comedy, the movie, which is set in York, England, includes some underage drinking, teens kissing/ making out on a bed (clothed) and several scenes of adults drinking at dinners and happy hours. The language is occasionally salty, with uses of “s---,” “b----,” “d---” and more. Families who watch with their teens can discuss the importance of honesty, communication, and empathy between parents and children (91 minutes)
Available on various streaming platforms.

common sense
Common Sense Media helps families make smart media choices. Go to commonsensemedia.org for age-based and educational ratings and reviews for movies, games, apps, TV shows, websites and books.

MOVIE DIRECTORY

(!) No Pass/No Discount Ticket
Friday, November 6, 2020
www.washingtonpost.com/movies

THE WASHINGTON POST • FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 2020

MARYLAND											
AMC Columbia 14 10300 Little Patuxent Parkway			American Sniper (R) 2:35-6:00-9:25 The Empty Man (R) 3:40-7:15 Unhinged (R) 3:10-5:55-8:35			The New Mutants (PG-13) CC: 7:20 Tenet (PG-13) CC: 4:40-6:50 The Empty Man (R) CC: 4:00			The War with Grandpa (PG) CC: 4:40-7:30 American Sniper (R) CC: 6:00 Tenet (PG-13) CC: 4:15-7:50		
AMC Loews St. Charles Town Ctr. 9 11115 Mall Circle			Honest Thief (PG-13) 3:05-6:05-6:50-9:10-9:45 Tenet (PG-13) 4:35-8:15 Let Him Go (R) 4:25-7:30 Come Play (PG-13) 2:55-5:45-9:00			Honest Thief (PG-13) CC: 4:30-7:10 Pray: The Story of Patrick Peyton (PG) CC: 6:50 Come Play (PG-13) CC: 4:50-7:30 Let Him Go (R) 4:10-7:00 Cloudy With a Chance of Meatballs (PG) 4:20			The Empty Man (R) CC: 3:20-4:10-7:40-8:50 Get Out (R) CC: 8:30 Happy Death Day (PG-13) CC: 3:25-9:00 Unhinged (R) CC: 3:50-6:25 Honest Thief (PG-13) CC: 4:45-7:45-9:00 1917 (R) CC: 3:15		
Cinemark Egyptian 24 and XD 7000 Arundel Mills Circle			True to the Game 2 (R) 4:20-7:10-10:00 Private Watch Party 2:30-2:40-2:50-3:00-3:30-4:00-4:20-4:40-6:00-6:10-6:20-6:30-7:00-7:30-7:50-8:10-9:30-9:40-9:50 The War with Grandpa (PG) 2:45-3:50-5:35-8:25 Honest Thief (PG-13) 3:05-6:05-9:10 Come Play (PG-13) XD: 3:50-6:45-9:55 Tenet (PG-13) XD: 2:35-6:25; 2:35-6:25			AMC Courthouse Plaza 8 2150 Clarendon Blvd.			True to the Game 2 (R) 3:20-5:50-8:40 Honest Thief: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: 3:00-5:45 Come Play (PG-13) CC: 3:30-4:30-5:30-6:15-7:15-8:15-9:00 Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles (1990) 30th Anniversary (PG) 7:00 Let Him Go (R) CC: 4:00-5:00-7:00-8:00		
Hoyt's West Nursery Cinema 14 1591 West Nursery Road			The War with Grandpa (PG) CC: 4:00-6:40			AMC Hoffman Center 22 206 Swamp Fox Rd.			AMC Potomac Mills 18 2700 Potomac Mills Circle		
Scream (1996) (R) 9:35 Toy Story (G) 4:15-6:55 Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge (1995) (NR) 3:20-7:40 Monty Python and the Holy Grail (PG) 4:10-7:00-10:00 The New Mutants (PG-13) 2:30-5:05-7:45						Toy Story (G) CC: 3:45-6:20 Goldfinger (PG) CC: 5:15 The Hunt for Red October (PG) 6:45			Toy Story (G) CC: 4:00-6:25-8:50 The Hunt for Red October (PG) 5:10 Tenet (PG-13) CC: 4:35-8:10 American Sniper: The IMAX Experience (R) 4:20-7:50 The War with Grandpa (PG) CC: 4:40-7:20 Get Out (R) CC: 8:30 The Empty Man (R) CC: 4:10-7:30 Happy Death Day (PG-13) CC: 8:40 1917 (R) CC: 5:30 Honest Thief (PG-13) CC: 4:45-5:40-6:30-7:25-8:20 Come Play (PG-13) CC: 6:00-9:00 True to the Game 2 (R) 4:30-7:10 Let Him Go (R) CC: 5:00-7:00-8:00		
						AMC Shirlington 7 2772 South Randolph St.			Honest Thief (PG-13) CC: 4:45-7:30 Let Him Go (R) CC: 4:00-6:00-7:00 Come Play (PG-13) CC: 4:15-8:00 Toy Story (G) CC: 4:15-7:00 Let Him Go (R) CC: 4:00-5:00-7:00 Come Play (PG-13) CC: 4:15-8:00		
						AMC Tysons Corner 16 7850e Tysons Corner Center			Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles (1990) 30th Anniversary (PG) 7:00 Let Him Go (R) CC: 4:00-5:00-7:00-8:00 Toy Story (G) CC: 4:15-7:00 Let Him Go (R) CC: 4:00-5:00-7:00 Come Play (PG-13) CC: 4:15-8:00		
						AMC Worldgate 9 13025 Worldgate Drive			Honest Thief (PG-13) CC: 4:45-7:30 Let Him Go (R) CC: 4:00-5:00-7:00 Come Play (PG-13) CC: 4:15-8:00 Toy Story (G) CC: 4:15-7:00 Let Him Go (R) CC: 4:00-5:00-7:00 Come Play (PG-13) CC: 4:15-8:00		
						Angelika Film Center Mosaic 2911 District Ave			Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - One Loudoun 20575 East Hampton Plaza		
						Labyrinth (1986) (PG) 5:00 Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them (PG-13) 4:30-8:00 Tenet (PG-13) CC: 4:00-7:45 Let Him Go (R) CC: (!) 4:15-5:15-7:00-8:30 Come Play (PG-13) CC: (!) 3:45-6:15-8:45 Synchronic (R) 4:40-7:30 Honest Thief (PG-13) CC: 4:45			Grease (PG) 8:45 Casablanca (1942) (PG) 4:00 V for Vendetta (R) 9:45 Action U.S.A. (R) 9:40 Tenet (PG-13) 4:25-6:50-9:15 Honest Thief (PG-13) 4:15-7:10-10:25		
						Cinema Arts Theatre 9650 Main St			Cinemark Fairfax Corner and XD 11900 Palace Way		
									Toy Story (G) 3:05-5:25 Monty Python and the Holy Grail (PG) 4:15-7:15-9:45 American Sniper (R) 4:20-7:30 The War with Grandpa (PG) 4:25-6:55-9:25 Tenet (PG-13) 5:30-9:10 The Empty Man (R) 7:45-7:25-10:00 Let Him Go (R) 2:45-8:30 Come Play (PG-13) 5:40-2:40-2:50-3:00-3:30-6:00-6:10-6:20-6:30-7:00-9:30-9:40-9:50-10:00 Let Him Go (R) XD: 3:50-7:05-9:55 Honest Thief (PG-13) XD: 3:55-6:50-9:35		
									University Mall Theatre 10659 Braddock Road		
									2 Hearts (PG-13) CC: DVS: 4:00-7:00 The Kid Detective (R) CC: DVS: 9:15 Toy Story (G) 4:15-7:15-9:05		